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Matinchev Statement on Economic Situation

AU3003175994 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 30 Mar 94

[Text] Acting Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev made an official statement for the mass media in which he assessed the situation in the country. According to him, the government has reached the conclusion that the days before signing the agreements with the international financial institutes will prompt the most acute conflicts from a political point of view.

[Begin Matinchev recording] Our opponents know that those agreements will be signed in the next few days. On behalf of the Bulgarian Government, I want to assure the Bulgarian people that precisely those agreements, against the background of the strenuous budget adopted by the National Assembly and the difficulties that all people experience, will contribute to stabilizing the general socioeconomic situation in the country.

Unfortunately, precisely at this moment, apparently sensing an opportunity to destabilize the country, certain political and financial forces are trying to create panic on the foreign currency and stock market by disseminating incorrect and provocative rumors, thus prompting speculators to purchase convertible currency on their behalf in unjustifiably large quantities.

In the last two days and especially yesterday, this caused an abnormal and speculative rise in the dollar rate on the foreign currency market. [end recording]

Further in his statement, Evgeni Matinchev stressed that the government is determined to achieve its goals and successfully complete the talks with the international financial institutes. Together with the National Bank, the government will adopt measures aimed at stopping the speculations.

Deputy Prime Minister Matinchev appealed to sober politicians and all citizens to preserve maximum calm, something that would guarantee the success of the reforms, prevent the devaluation of the Bulgarian lev, and the destabilization of the country.

Aleksandrov Plans To Check Speculation

AU3103101694 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 31 Mar 94

[Telephone report by Kalina Stancheva on the Council of Ministers meeting in Sofia on 31 March—live]

[Text] Regarding the first item on the agenda of the cabinet meeting today, the number one topic this week, Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov said: We expect that in early April a countershock will occur when the producers and merchants restock with raw materials and goods. He admitted the possibility of delays in supplies, which will restrict demand for foreign currency because of the fact that firms will be starting to pay their taxes and salaries, so that people will start selling foreign currency.

According to Stoyan Aleksandrov, the measures adopted by the Bulgarian National Bank [BNB] to limit liquidity will have an effect, as will the start of the checks on the 3,000 foreign currency exchange bureaus, 260 brokerage houses, and about 50 banks. [passage omitted]

Next week the finance minister will ask parliament to amend the Law on Speculation, to reduce the speculative raising of prices for basic goods. Incidentally, today he also said he wanted to extend the list of basic goods monitored by the government, but the government decided first to seek the agreement of its partners in the National Council for Trilateral Cooperation.

The government also made changes in the membership of the Interagency Council on Problems of the Military-Industrial Complex, appointing different deputy ministers of industry and trade, namely Racho Petrov and Dencho Georgiev, to replace Yordan Bochev and Stanimir Barzashki respectively.

Bank Governor To Act Against Violations

AU2903091494 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 26-27 Mar 94 p 1

[KONTINENT staff report]

[Text] Violations of the foreign exchange regulations are taking place on a colossal, massive scale, Professor Todor Vulchev, governor of the Bulgarian National Bank [BNB], announced yesterday. The foreign exchange bureaus will be closed down and finance houses will lose their licenses, he claimed. He was referring to finance houses that were dealing without permits.

About 80 of the almost 200 finance houses are operating without licenses. The prosecution service is supposed to intervene, but in the absence of any sound, stable administration and police apparatus it is difficult to implement penal sanctions, Vulchev claimed.

Of the 1,253 companies that have registered currency exchange bureaus, only 646 have supplied figures on the scale of their foreign exchange operations completed in 1993, as required by the BNB. If the others fail to present the information by 15 April, we will take away their licenses, Vulchev told the journalists.

Vulchev said that a major violation of the foreign exchange controls had been established in a large state bank. No documents were available for 50 percent of its forex operations. The head of the bank's legal department claimed that he had not heard of Council of Ministers Decree No. 15 that controls forex operations in Bulgaria. The bank in question had transferred a considerable amount of money abroad for a client who had sold real estate. The fine for violations of this kind is

up to 500,000 leva. Experts point out that the Finance Ministry can impose such a fine by ministerial decree.

Embargo on Oil Products Seen as Economic Loss

AU3003090494 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 26-27 Mar 94 p 8

[Krasimir Tsigularov commentary: "Yet Another Own Goal"]

[Text] The Bulgarian Danube ports are no longer expected to handle petrol and liquid fuels for export. Such goods shall no longer be transported on the Danube. The ban not only applies to ferryboat transports. In this manner, our country is formally complying with the restricted Yugoembargo. This is how Bulgaria itself is actually erecting another barrier obstructing its already weakened foreign economic relations. In addition to this, our country is doing so while perfectly realizing that it cannot expect any advantage whatsoever from its action. There is even more: Quite a few Bulgarian companies that benefited from the cheap river transport faciilities for re-exporting oil products are going to complain. With one stroke they are all practically ostracized as embargo violators. It is not difficult to forecast that the elimination of the Bulgarian competition would be very profitable for some foreign companies—simply because any vacuum in international trade is easy to fill.

The candid enthusiasm with which we recently joined the embargo against Iraq led to losses that are expected to affect our economy for a long time in the future. Hundreds of millions of dollars have vanished somewhere in the course of Desert Storm, as a result of unfulfilled business deals and more than $1 billion were lost as a result of Iraq's unpaid debts toward our country. It appeared at one time that we would be placed at the end of the queue of those waiting for compensation in connection with the Iraqi embargo, but even this was forgotten with time and we never got anything.

The act of submissively joining the Yugo-embargo cut off the main route of Bulgarian exports to the West. Transit corridors through Serbia have been opening repeatedly over the last three months, but not even one truck has passed through them. As far as Turkey is concerned, it is about to further complicate the procedure for the transport of oil products and petrol through the straits, after the tragic incident in the Bosphorus. Gas deliveries through Ukrainian territory are frequently causing concern because of the controversies between Russia and the Ukraine, and also because of unsettled accounts. As things are going, we might nostalgically remember some Bulgarian magicians who used to set fire to water and transform it into fuel.

After the Danube was closed for petrol barges, no one is talking about compensations. However, even if anyone should mention them, he should immediately remember the lessons of the past. It is interesting to learn, whether anyone knows that compensations should be better sought before one has inflicted his own goal against himself. After we have voluntarily fallen into our own trap, it is difficult to find volunteers willing to rescue us.

Statistics on Legally Working Foreigners Noted

AU3003134694 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 29 Mar 94 p 3

[Article by "joe, ctk": "Most Foreigners Are Employed in Prague"]

[Excerpt] Prague—In December 1993, 28,281 foreigners worked legally in the Czech Republic. This means that the statistics of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs (MPSV) registered only a small decline from September of the same year, when it showed 28,392 valid work permits for foreigners. Approximately 15,500 are individual workers, and 12,600 are employed on the basis of contracts. Only 166 of them were people with refugee status. From the point of view of profession, the largest group are laborers (about 21,500 people). Approximately 2,000 foreigners working in the Czech Republic are high-school graduates. Almost 4,700 foreigners are university graduates; these are mostly representatives of foreign firms. [passage omitted]

Local Narcotics-Smuggling Routes Examined

AU3003134394 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 29 Mar 94 p 12

[Article by "hop": "The Importance of the Czech Republic in Heroin Trade Is Growing"]

[Text] Prague—Czech policemen managed within a week to seize 75 kg of pure heroin, which is almost 8 kg more than over the entire past year. These figures, together with the statistics of drugs seized in Western Europe, which the smugglers evidently transported through the territory of the Czech Republic (less than 750 kg in 1992, 997 kg last year), testify to the steadily growing quantity of heroin in transit and to the important status of the Czech Republic on the so-called Balkan route. A total in excess of 8,000 kg of heroin was seized in all European states last year, which is one-half more than in 1988.

Two branches of this smuggling path go through the Czech Republic. One leads from Istanbul, Turkey, through Sofia, Belgrade, Budapest, and Prague to the Waldhaus border crossing. The other branch passing through the Czech-German border begins in Constanta, Romania. In both instances, the final destination for the narcotics is Scandinavia and West Europe. According to police sources, only a marginal part of the narcotics remains in the Czech Republic. Because of the high price of heroin, its users are recruited mostly from business circles. Jiri Richter, director of the National Drug and Information Service, comments on this: "Recently, the participation of the Czech citizens in various crime organizations involved in drug smuggling has grown. It is understandable: The Czech cleverness, longing for money, and skills are rather expedient features for narcotics trade."

One of the important sites for drug smuggling is the [Prague-] Ruzyne airport. Drug couriers from Asia, Africa, and South America come to Prague and then continue to Europe in cars or by train. Because of the limited technical possibilities and lack of legislation, the Prague airport is becoming a suitable transfer point for smugglers.

Drug-crime specialists point out that the interest in the Czech Republic on the part of dealers is not ceasing because dirty money can be laundered here without many problems. According to them, the individual gangs will attempt to penetrate the highest political and social strata.

Moravcik: Priority To Preserve Czech Cooperation

LD3003213194 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1900 GMT 30 Mar 94

[Text] In the view of Slovak Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik, the number-one priority in Czech-Slovak relations is to preserve integration and cooperation at least at its current level. At a meeting with journalists today, he said that the preservation of the customs union was important, mainly in view of the expected integration into the European Union. The prime minister also called for a solution to yet-unresolved problems. At the same time, however, he expressed doubts as to whether this could be achieved during the six months of his government's term of office.

Moravcik said it would be a great success if the division of assets of the former Federation was finally resolved. He would also like to improve Slovak-Hungarian relations, which were considerably tense during Meciar's rule, before the Paris conference (?of the Pact) on stability in Europe.

Cooperation Program Signed With NATO

LD3003182394 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 30 Mar 94

[Text] Jan Kuriata, deputy minister of national defense for armament and military infrastructure, and Robin Beard, NATO assistant secretary general for the Division of Defense Support, have signed a program of practical cooperation between the Ministry of National Defense and NATO for this year. The program includes proposals for meetings of groups of experts on the planning of arms supply, armaments, and military equipment, and also on organization and management of research and development work. Beard's visit to Poland will last two days.

Walesa on Second Term, SLD, Pawlak, PolSat

WS3103105294 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 31 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by K.Gr.: "Lech Walesa Suggests That He Will Run; I Will Do So Wearing Gloves"]

[Text] "If I were to make the decision today, I would not sign the Budget Law," Lech Walesa said on Wednesday [30 March] at a meeting with the journalists of SLOWO—DZIENNIK KATOLICKI. He has not made the decision yet. Walesa denies that a "quiet agreement" has been reached between him and Prime Minister Pawlak. "I am increasingly more convinced that I will have to fight for it once again," says Walesa, when asked whether he will run in the presidential elections. Who will win the next parliamentary elections? "Definitely not the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]."

Walesa does not regret strengthening "the left pillar." He does not regret "any of the main points of his activities." "So it should not put out its left leg for the right pillar," he adds. He also specified that the "screwups" are those "who pretend to be the right wing but who actually are not." In this context, he listed Aleksander Hall. One could also call them a different name; "they are kind of Christian children brought up by the communists."

Walesa is waiting for "the right side" to present him with proposals on file-checking and decommunization that he will be able to recommend. "If I did this myself, it would be ill-received."

"We will see once again whether I can omit the Sejm. I am saying this seriously," he answered a question concerning the Concordat.

He is convinced that the Sejm will not try to limit the president's powers. "If it tries, there will be new elections. I am convinced that a different option will win, and I will contribute to that."

Asked whether this is an announcement of dissolving the parliament, he replies: "If a dissolution is necessary, there will be a dissolution."

Who will win the next elections? "Definitely not the SLD." "I will do everything wearing gloves, and when they realize the situation, it will be too late," he says.

At another moment he adds: "Once again the Politburo wants to have all the power. The Politburo forgets that, in the next term, it will not have all the power. Whatever it will take away from the president today, it will repay tomorrow."

If he were to make the decision today, he would not sign the Budget Law. "One cannot deceive the nation over and over. It was supposed to be different," he says. The coalition should tell the nation that "it will not deceive any longer." From "the economic point of view," the president is in despair because he understands that "it was not possible to make a greater move here." He has not made a decision yet. "It will be a well-considered decision. However, today I have great doubts," he stated.

He denied that he has a "quiet agreement" with Prime Minister Pawlak. "If such an agreement existed, I would say the situation is pretty bad because he is doing better and I am doing worse, and I do not like that." "Now, the president must know what the agreements are," he added.

At another moment, he added that he wishes Pawlak all the best, even though he fears that "the subjects are so difficult that one would need experience, which Pawlak does not have."

Asked whether he will run for the presidency a second time, he stated that "if I see sense in my work." "I have not made a final decision yet. I am increasingly more convinced that I will have to fight once more," he added.

Asked about PolSat, he said: "I only knew certain things that are coming to light now." He added that he believed that "one could find a cleaner case, more economic for everyone."

"This generation of ours is tired and destroyed and will not do much," he confessed. "Communist screwups..."—"that was about everyone, including me," he added.

Still Rejects Rosati Candidacy

WS3103120894 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 31 Mar 94 p 1

[Article by E.K., E.Cz., and K.Gr.: "There Is Still Deadlock in Rosati Issue; There Were No Talks With President"]

[Text] "Meetings will be held, but the decision is final," said Lech Walesa on Wednesday [30 March], when asked whether he will hold more talks with the coalition on the nomination of Dariusz Rosati. "Certain things have already been said and written. You want to have a serious president, do you not?" he asked at a meeting with the journalists of SLOWO—DZIENNIK

KATOLICKI. "Unless the coalition presents a new candidate, I will propose someone," said Walesa and laughed.

"Do the people of communism still think that this is a Politburo decision? Now, they are still behaving as if this were a decision by the Politburo. Nothing is going to scare or change me—only the elections," he said.

"Why, would they like me to chicken out?" he asked. He stated that the president cannot be "forced to sign any documents simply because the coalition has decided so."

Despite the coalition leaders' hopes to meet the president soon, such a meeting was not held on Wednesday. Zbigniew Siemiatkowski gave assurances, however, that the coalition will make efforts to hold such a meeting with the president, during which the leaders will try to win Lech Walesa over to the candidacy of Dariusz Rosati for deputy prime minister and finance minister. It is hardly possible for the meeting to be held before Easter because, on Wednesday afternoon, Aleksander Kwasniewski and Jozef Oleksy flew off to Moscow for an official parliamentary visit. The visit will last until Friday.

Before leaving for Moscow, Kwasniewski reiterated that Dariusz Rosati had not changed his mind. He is still the candidate of the coalition, and he will not withdraw until the coalition thinks it necessary. He added, however: "It is not known what will happen tomorrow."

"The main person to participate in these talks should be Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak, who put forward this candidacy. However, I have also said I would like to take part in the talks," he said.

Jozef Oleksy said that the president's decision was legal and in conformity with his powers. Even though the Small Constitution only vaguely defines the procedure for forming the government by the president, similarly inexact provisions could be found in almost all democratic constitutions. However, "hardly any European president thinks of using such powers."

"I am trying to soothe the tempers of politicians. However, the situations that we are witnessing should not be occurring," said Oleksy.

Walesa Contemplates Signing Budget Law

LD3103113894 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1005 GMT 31 Mar 94

[Excerpts] President Lech Walesa has until midnight to sign the law on wages in enterprises, which replaces the so-called excess wage increase tax [popiwek] law that is in force until the end of March. According to information from the Presidential Chancellery, Walesa will make a decision on this matter this afternoon.

Asked about the situation if the president refuses to sign the law, director Zbigniew Boniuszko, of the Finance Ministry, said it would be more dangerous for the economy than not signing the budget law. [passage omitted]

In an interview for PAP granted this morning, President Walesa was asked if he would sign the budget. He answered:

[Begin Walesa recording] Apart from everything else, I regard myself as a responsible politician, and I do everything to make sure that the prosperity of the country is a priority. Assuming I do not sign the budget, I would not sign it knowing that the coalition would pull it through. Someone could say, you are irresponsible, what are all these games for, you are not serious enough for the president.

I want to draw attention and initiate a discussion. From now on, I want society to be taken seriously, to think differently, even about the budget. The budget is only for one year. To start with, it is clear it will be amended. There is no doubt about it; everyone is saying so. What is more important—this budget, the purpose of which is to start certain economic processes in Poland, or the nation? [end recording]

Possibility of Veto Examined

WS3103121994 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 31 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by Malgorzata Subotic: "Veto's Small Chance; So Far, President Has Not Undertaken Any Measure Against Reforms"]

[Text] *If the president decided to veto the budget law, it is very likely that the Sejm would overrule the presidential veto. Yesterday, Lech Walesa said that "for now" he will not sign the budget, while Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy recalled that the deadline for Walesa to veto the budget is 25 April. "There is conflicting information emerging from the President's Office—sometimes it is that the president will sign the budget, and, at other times, that he will veto it." So say politicians with whom we talked, and they also add that similar news was coming out of the Belweder regarding Rosati's candidacy.*

Why President Would Invoke a Veto

"The nation has been cheated again; life was supposed to get better," Walesa said yesterday, while explaining why he would not sign the budget "for now." But he immediately made the stipulation that, "from an economic viewpoint," he is desperate because he knows that, apart from minor changes, the budget law cannot be amended a great deal.

Even Walesa's critics admit that, so far, he has not undertaken any specific measure that would be targeted against market transformations. He has signed all economy-related laws (with the exception of the one concerning retirement pensions for uniformed officials), even those that limited senior citizens' income levels.

Views on the budget adopted by the Sejm tend to be unanimous: Generally speaking, the budget maintains the direction of reforms implemented thus far. International financial institutions and our Western creditors express a similar view. It is obvious that lack of a budget law would get a bad perception in those circles.

So why is the president suggesting that he might not place his signature on the document?

"To clearly demonstrate that he is keeping a distance from the current governing coalition and to be favorably looked upon by future voters whose views are populist and geared toward making claims"—this is what some say. "He is hoping that he will manage to dissolve the parliament at the same time"—this is what other people assume.

The first hypothesis could be confirmed by friendly gestures vis-a-vis Solidarity, which is demanding that the budget be changed or else the trade union will wage a general strike. "Except that, this way, Walesa would alienate those whom he once addressed by saying: 'Take things into your own hands.'" This is what Wieslawa Ziolkowska, of the Union of Labor [UP], thinks.

Would the president be empowered to dissolve the parliament if the Sejm failed to overrule his veto on the budget? Provisions of the Small Constitution confirm yet again that the document is not specific enough. Zbigniew Siemiatkowski, of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], fears that one could make the interpretation that the president could indeed dissolve the parliament. But the view prevails that the parliament enacted the budget, and it did so within the three-month period required by the Constitution. Andrzej Potocki, of the Democratic Union [UD], even says that the Sejm could readopt the same version of the budget within about a dozen days.

Dangers It Can Cause

"The president will not accomplish anything by vetoing the budget. It will practically have zero impact on the domestic situation because the Constitution provides that, if there is no adopted budget law, the government acts on the basis of what it had itself submitted before, which in this case means the budget that was adopted and later vetoed," Sejm Deputy Ziolkowska says. But she also adds that lack of a budget law "will cause external destabilization. Our foreign creditors have agreed to reduce our debts mainly because of the solutions contained in the budget."

Sejm Speaker Oleksy, among others, has a different view: "A delay in the signing of the budget law prevents financial means from flowing down from the central budget to those institutions that are financed by that budget. If the president does not sign the budget law, an unstable situation will be created 'completely unnecessarily.'"

We asked Elzbieta Suchocka, a director at the Finance Ministry, to explain the issue. In her view, in a situation where the law was adopted by the Sejm but was not published in DZIENNIK USTAW [official publication with final versions of laws adopted by parliament and signed by the president] (due to a delay in the president's signing or lack of a signature), the law's status is the same as that of a draft law, which means it exists in effect but with one important proviso: There are authorizations contained in the budget law for the Council of Ministers to issue executory legal acts. The government is not authorized to issue such acts without a law. So it would not be possible, for instance, to issue bonds (which are one of the sources of financing the budget deficit) or to devote reserves from centrally financed projects to gminas [small administrative units] endangered by unemployment. There would also be problems with agricultural credits.

What Will Happen

According to our estimates, it is almost certain that a presidential veto, if it did occur, would be overruled. A two-thirds majority vote is required for that. The SLD coalition does not have such a majority; it is nine votes short of the 307 required. As UP's Wieslawa Ziolkowska told us, she will make efforts to have the UP Sejm Deputies Club vote in favor of overruling the veto. Even though UP voted against the budget during the Sejm vote, "these are two separate votings." The government would operate under the "old budget" anyway, but it would cause effects outside of Poland. UD still does not know how it will vote, and its Sejm deputies "would have to consider the issue."

Pawlak Views Coalition, EU Application, Rosati

LD3003212594 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 2000 GMT 30 Mar 94

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network]

[Text] The relationship between the government and the president has a multifaceted character, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak told the "Panorama" program, adding that the coalition maintains the proposed candidacy of Dariusz Rosati. Until such time as the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] or the candidate himself makes a decision on this matter, the candidacy remains in force.

[Begin recording] [Pawlak] Apart from this matter, there is an entire series of other problems that must be taken into account. A decision was made by the Council of Ministers yesterday, in the presence of the president, on the presentation of an application for membership in the EU. The decisions of the president on the matter of the budget law await us, and this decision has a very significant and important meaning from both an internal and an external point of view. Even if this budget does not fully fulfill all expectations, it is still an exceptionally important matter—that the decision on this matter be a

very serious one, taking into account the needs of the economy and of society because, after all, this budget also contains amendments and modifications decided in parliament.

An important matter is the decision on the electoral law to parish councils. Here, we will shortly have elections to parish self-governments and the Senate by-elections. This shows that the relationship between the government and the president ought to have a substantive and concrete character. That is how it ought to be seen.

[Unidentified correspondent] Discussions are in progress among politicians on the subject of a possible coming together, as between the Polish Peasant Party and the Belweder camp, at the cost of the SLD. How do you judge the permanency of the current coalition?

[Pawlak] I think that the facts show the reality at the moment. The coalition is behaving in a manner that is in accord, and these relationships of which I spoke earlier ought to be seen in their entirety. Then they take into account all the circumstances, both those associated with the functioning of the coalition, with the functioning of the government, and those of the office of the president. All of these activities ought to take into account the expectations and needs of society and the interests of the state, the interests of Poland. [end recording]

Oleksy on Sejm Work, President, Constitution

WS3003134794 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1800 GMT 29 Mar 94

[Interview with Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy, by Aleksander Geryn, identified via screen caption, in Warsaw, from the "Sejmograph" program; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Geryn] Mr. Speaker, almost six months have passed since the second-term Sejm started work. Many people have begun to refer to this Sejm as a kind of a legislative voting machine—there are not enough fireworks, there is not enough friction. To cut a long story short, they say that this is a boring Sejm. Do you agree with that opinion?

[Oleksy] I certainly do not agree with it. It depends on the particular idea of the Sejm that each of us has. One can say that the previous Sejms were a greater source of joy to the viewers and various observers because there really were many clashes. Even when they were about insignificant issues or so-called substitute subjects, they provided certain dynamics, the dynamics of disputes, quarrels, arguments. Well, this is definitely much more pleasurable to watch than the monotony of solid legislative work. [passage omitted]

The Sejm is always some kind of theater; however, what should be taken care of is that this role of the Sejm is not its leading role, just as it used to be in the past. It so happens that the Sejm primarily works as the supreme organ of the legislative authorities; it defines the law, fulfills the controlling function; it watches the government, discusses reports prepared by the Supreme Chamber of Control, statements by the Constitutional Tribunal, and, finally, it passes laws in the complex legislative procedure. I believe that people who observe the work of this Sejm for a longer period will admit that there is less theatrical behavior, so it is perhaps not so interesting.... [Oleksy pauses] Well, but I must say that, actually, as far as some issues are concerned, this Sejm has already witnessed several heated discussions. [passage omitted]

[Geryn] Let me now return to the issue of theatrical behavior. Indeed, the deputies themselves are more quiet, as it were, and the debates are held relatively quietly as well. However, there is some friction, which seems quite considerable, between the Belweder and the parliament. Right now this conflict seems to be dying down a bit. However, this is characterized by some fluctuation: At one point there is a conflict, then it dies down. Nonetheless, people who observe the political scene in Poland believe that a conflict does exist there. Can you confirm this?

[Oleksy] No, I cannot. I think that this opinion is based on one or two incidents. There is no antipresidential or anti-Walesa atmosphere. Because this is true, which I know for sure, there is no reason for great friction. However, it sometimes happens that the president in enthusiasm uses phrases that concern the entire Sejm and are not really complimentary to it; of course, I do not want praise from the president. What I mean is a certain extremity in the president's interpretations of situations that are usual in the Sejm. Let us take the example of rejecting the presidential bills; this may happen more than once, and it happens not only to presidential bills. The parliament's task is to evaluate and discuss a bill and then make a decision in a ballot. Now, if the president makes a rapid, public evaluation and generalizes a given issue and thus issues an overall evaluation of the Sejm, it certainly may resemble a conflict, but there is no such conflict. I only fear that, as we draw closer to the presidential campaign, we may more and more often hear such sharp, firm, tactical statements; however, I would not like to see this occur.

[Geryn] Immediately after being elected speaker of the Sejm, you said: I am open to contacts with the extraparliamentary opposition, with the parties that lost in the elections last September. What does this look like in practice?

[Oleksy] In practice it looks quite miserable because my genuine political offer was treated by most extraparliamentary groupings as some kind of a game, tactics, as the parliament's attempt to legitimize itself, which, really, the parliament does not need. I would like to say that this is a bad approach. I think that this is detrimental to a dialogue in the state—a dialogue about essential issues, which is really needed. I think that the ideas that came up as a result of a lack of readiness to cooperate in the creation of the Constitution... [Oleksy pauses] I think

they are not likely to be successful. They will only obscure the picture of some kind of joint thinking about the Constitution. I will say once again that the political offer of opening the Sejm to cooperation with extraparliamentary groupings is still a valid offer; however, the response to it is next to none.

Defense Minister, Official on Military Reform

WS3003171594 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 0635 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Statements by Polish Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk and General Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of the Polish Army's General Staff, during a news conference with unidentified reporters; place and date not given—live or recorded; from the "Caliber" military program]

[Excerpts] [Kolodziejczyk] What happened to the Armed Forces' budget this year smacks of a scandal. There occurred far-reaching interference by the legislative branch with the powers of the executive branch. That is unacceptable. If the [defense] ministry's chief is supposed to bear constitutional responsibility for the Armed Forces' readiness and the readiness of the country's defense system, one must not tie his hands with decisions on where and how money should be spent because this way one will not succeed in creating anything that would make sense or be a logical whole. Under the situation that has emerged, I will submit a complaint before the Constitutional Tribunal. [passage omitted]

We are not so conservative as to refuse to give up anything—we can see the need ourselves. The Army is smaller; personnel policies have changed; there is a different concept, generally speaking; there are fewer officers who are better educated; there are more ensigns and noncommissioned officers; the size of forces on contract and over-the-time service has increased, following the example of other armies; and there is also an increased level of professionalism, but not necessarily through increases in the size of the officer corps. As a result of the last, we also have a process of integration with regard to military education, but that is a process the rate of which, unfortunately, is also dependent on the budget.

[Wilecki] I think that in 1995—and I am saying this officially—we are making efforts to make it possible to introduce a 12-month service term.

[Kolodziejczyk] If I may, I would like to elaborate on that issue in a couple or more sentences. It used to be that one had to serve three years in the Navy, and training of a naval expert using equipment that was not that complicated lasted six months. So that meant six months of training and two and a half years of service itself. Right now, training a radio-telegraphic operator to a decent level by using the equipment the regiment has at its disposal, takes seven to eight months. Now, if service takes 12 months, its real, actual length will be only four months. So the question is: What kind of implementation has to take place to secure the servicing of equipment at a decent level? That is the main problem here. And there is no other way to cut short the length of military service except to professionalize the service, which means over-the-time and contract service when, after a cycle of training, there follows a four-year period of service—that is to say, four years at the minimum. Except that, in order to introduce that kind of service, just as General Wilecki said, there must be legislative regulations that would eliminate all waivers of military service due to cultivating a hectare of land, having this or that number of children, and so forth. This is a citizen's duty, and we are all equal in the eyes of the law and the Constitution. That is the first thing. As a second issue, we come back to the issue because one must invest resources in the establishment of a corps of cadre of the over-the-time service and contract service, as I mentioned. [passage omitted]

[Wilecki] Generally speaking, the Armed Forces are in bad shape. It is my moral duty—and I have been fulfilling this for two years now—to make the supreme authorities in the state aware of things because it is those authorities who bear responsibility for the country's security. As chief of the Polish Army's General Staff, I am responsible for certain things, I feel it is my duty to bring them to light, and I think the country's supreme authorities are being made aware of these issues. The fact that you [addressing the journalists] do not know all of the details—forgive me, but the special services of our various potential friends and enemies are working around the clock and are following various events. So it would be hard to expect the mass media to publish details on the Armed Forces' protection systems and functioning. One must realize that some things are discussed behind closed doors. I am hoping that the parliamentary debate, which Sejm Speaker Oleksy announced during his meeting with the General Staff's leadership a few weeks back, will be a closed-door debate and that it will lead to some details being cleared up. It is true that not all members of parliament feel comfortable with defense matters.

[Kolodziejczyk] Sejm Speaker Mr. Jozef Oleksy has said publicly that the debate will indeed take place in the month of April. Practically speaking, the Army and the Defense Ministry have been ready for it for a long time now. What do we expect from the debate? We expect no miracles because tea does not get sweet simply by stirring it. But there is a very significant issue: putting in order the legal framework for the Defense Ministry's functioning, and also of the General Staff and all structures of the Army. This requires great effort and is a very urgent issue. In fact, in the eyes of the West, we may well be perceived as an Army that failed to accomplish anything in terms of reform because it continues to be headed by a minister with powers provided for by a 1967 law, so, despite the fact that the minister wears civilian clothes, he has a right to command the forces, in accordance with the law I mentioned and that is in force.

Incidentally, I want to explain something with regard to the West's perception of these issues. As far as I can figure out, it is of no interest to them who is in charge of the ministry and what kind of uniform he used to wear, be it a railway uniform, a military one, or some other type. What is important to them is precisely what we are talking about—that is to say, power. So the minister can be a civilian if he has the power to exert administrative and political supervision over the Army. And there is the Armed Forces' commander, who, in our case, is known as chief of the General Staff and who is charged with statutory responsibility for the defense readiness of military units—that is, of the Armed Forces. That is the first necessary step and there are very many others to follow. That is the first thing we expect from the Sejm debate. We expect it will be a new incentive for putting these things in order, including the Small Constitution, the powers of the Security Council, SORM [expansion unknown], and so forth. Another thing we expect is that the Sejm will make a decision on reaching a certain fixed level of GDP within a set time limit, to be spent on the defense budget, and that, thanks to that, we will be able to arrange our implementation potential in a way that would make sense, taking into account our financial capabilities. These are the two issues that can bring a vast improvement to the entire ministry, particularly the Armed Forces, without additional resources. [passage omitted] The optimism I sense is over the fact that West Europe's two largest countries—with the greatest economic and military potential—made a decision to recommend us for associate membership in the Western European Union [WEU]. That means introductory integration into European security structures. It also brings results in the form of a promise of openness to technological and technical cooperation. We have been fighting for that kind of openness for several years now, with a complete lack of success, I might add. The intention of implementing both the Partnership for Peace initiative and the most recent initiative regarding cooperation with the WEU countries is to collect experiences precisely at the level of basic units, which means platoons and companies. Then we will find out what is the relationship between our communications and command systems, training techniques, signal methods, and so forth, and then, on the basis of these conclusions, we will have an opportunity to correct our own programs and move to a higher level of cooperation or joint exercises in the following year.

To have the best possible relations with our neighbors is the primary principle of our security policy. Second, it is regional cooperation; third, European structures; and, finally, arms reduction. So the first item requires two parties to participate. My sense is that Western countries have matured enough so as not to be alarmed by every move of President Yeltsin's or Minister Kozyrev's eyelids, and to instead implement what is rational at a given point. Integrating Poland and other countries into European security structures, which means eliminating the gray area—that is rational. Gray areas always bring to mind potential possibilities of destabilization. I think the trend should be spread over and cover the remaining countries. It is a process, but, for the moment, let us focus on what pertains to Poland. So there is a chance for Poland, and we shall see what will happen in May. I am optimistic, and I have faith that Poland will be an associate member of the WEU.

Poland, Belarus To Cooperate in Fighting Disease

LD2903152494 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1406 GMT 29 Mar 94

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 29 Mar—Poland and Belarus want to cooperate in preventing and combating particularly dangerous contagious diseases, including the HIV-AIDS epidemic, journalists were told today at the outset of a four-day Polish-Belarus working conference in Warsaw.

The conference is attended by representatives of the Belarus Ministry of Health and the five largest cities of this state in charge of health-care organizations, blood donation, and epidemiology. [passage omitted]

In Belarus there have been 102 recorded cases of HIV-positive people, including seven children. Of those 102, 10 are already suffering from AIDS. Seventy percent of all cases are located in Minsk. According to Polish doctors, Belarus is at the stage of the AIDS epidemic where Poland was six to seven years ago.

According to the State Institute of Hygiene, there were 2,935 recorded cases of HIV-positive people by the end of February [1994]. Of those, 175 persons contracted AIDS, and 98 have already died. These are only estimates. Dr. Krzysztof Dziubinski, adviser to the minister of health, maintains that a growing trend can be observed.

As far as diphtheria is concerned, there were 120 cases recorded in Belarus last year, while there were only 10 in Poland. Last year, Belarus purchased Polish antidiphtheria vaccine. It is going to test it and use it in preventive treatment.

SRI Director Summoned Before Commission

AU3103081994 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 24 Mar 94 p 10

[Marcela Feraru, Tiberiu Braescu, Mihai Valentin Neagu, and Andra Aurora Manta article: "Virgil Magureanu Announced that He Will Dismiss His Deputy, Dumitru Cristea, on Grounds of Immoral Behavior"]

[Text]

The Former Chief of the Counterespionage Division of the Romanian Intelligence Service Has Been Accused of Concealing Documents

The hearing of Virgil Magureanu, director of the SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service], by the authorized Parliamentary Commission took place yesterday. He was summoned to answer questions regarding accusations of espionage against certain public personalities as well as with changes at the SRI leadership. Although the Steering College of the respective institution was also summoned, Virgil Magureanu was accompanied only by the head of the Counterespionage Directorate.

The most spectacular case, that is, the case of the former presidential counselor, Marin Pancea, was clarified with two precise answers: He is neither a French spy nor working for the KGB. Asked whether he was not interested in Pancea's commercial relations, which would have made him a suspect, Virgil Magureanu said that SRI did not react to this issue. The SRI director promised to disclose next week where all the information published in the press originated from.

In connection with other personalities who were accused of espionage such as Adrian Nastase [executive president of the ruling party Social Democracy Party of Romania], Adrian Severin [vice president of the Democratic Party (National Salvation Front)], Ion Talpes [head of the Foreign Intelligence Service], and others, the answer was the same, namely, he promised to disclose those things later. In any event, "there is no proof that those persons were spies." Nevertheless, the SRI director promised "we will also see some spies" without mentioning who they are, how they were discovered, and what has happened to them.

Major General Dumitru Cristea, Deputy Chief of the SRI, Will Be Removed From Office on Grounds of Immoral Behavior

Referring to the issue of demotions at the level of the SRI leadership, Virgil Magureanu said that his deputy, Major General Dumitru Cristea, will be removed from his position because of immoral and scandalous behavior. In his capacity as rector of the Higher Institute for Information Studies, he had sexual relations with female students and the father of one of the girls complained about it to the Parliamentary Commission. The Commission came into possession of a recorded cassette that contained the declarations made to the Commission expert by the respective student. In her statement, the student tells the entire story in detail. Out of decency, we decided to refrain from disclosing those details. However, the representatives of the commission assessed the behavior of the SRI deputy chief as "offensively immoral."

The president of the Parliamentary Commission Vasile Vacaru also has a recording in which Dumitru Cristea admits all the allegations, even if he withdrew those statements later.

In this situation, Major General Dumitru Cristea was summoned for a hearing to the Parliamentary Commission in Charge of Supervising Romanian Intelligence Service activity.

SRI Has No Clear Picture About Documents That Were Concealed by Gheorghe Diaconescu and That Contain Intelligence Data

In connection with the dismissal of the head of the Counterintelligence Service, Gheorghe Diaconescu, Virgil Magureanu informed the commission that Diaconescu concealed documents that contained intelligence data. The SRI still has no clear picture of the nature of the respective documents or of the reasons why they were hidden. A response is still expected from the Prosecutor's Office.

Virgil Magureanu, Director of the Romanian Intelligence Service Promised Not To Carry Out Any More Changes Without Previously Discussing the Matter With the Parliamentary Commission. The SRI Director Denied All Cases of Espionage Referred to in the Press.

During the hearing, the SRI director mentioned that the institution, whose chief he is, to this very day, does not have accurate data that would confirm cases of espionage, as published in the press. His statement was confirmed also by the head of the Counterespionage Division of the SRI, who was present at the hearing. Nevertheless, Virgil Magureanu said that the SRI is investigating those cases that were brought up by the press and will present a report to the Parliamentary Commission.

The Commission asked the SRI director not to carry out any more changes in the structure of that institution without previously discussing it with members of parliament. In conclusion, Virgil Magureanu promised that he will bring before the commission all those dignitaries who are going to be replaced, as well as those by whom they are going to be replaced.

Daily Sees SRI Dismissals as 'Diversion'

AU3003162694 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 28 Mar 94 p 3

[Article by Dan Andronic and Radu Tudor: "The Head of the Counterintelligence Division of the Romanian

Intelligence Service Is in Possession of Documents That Can Lead to Virgil Magureanu's Dismissal"]

[Text] A short while ago, immediately after President Ion Iliescu's departure on his Asian tour, Virgil Magureanu, director of the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI], made a surprising move: He dismissed Major General Gheorghe Diaconescu, head of the SRI's Counterintelligence Division.

Although absolute silence was kept on this subject, EVENIMENTUL ZILEI soon learned the real reason for Maj. Gen. Diaconescu's dismissal.

According to information we have been able to obtain thus far, in the wake of certain operative actions carried out by the Counterintelligence Division, Maj. Gen. Diaconescu put together certain intelligence files according to which Maj. Gen. Magureanu and his first deputy, Maj. Gen. Victor Marcu, were involved in monkey business. Although he proceeded in accordance with the law and notified the Department of Military Magistracies through Maj. Gen. Mihai Ulpiu Popa-Cherecheanu, deputy prosecutor general of the General Magistracy of the Supreme Court of Justice, Maj. Gen. Diaconescu found himself nonetheless dismissed. Mihai Ulpiu Popa-Cherecheanu did nothing else but to seal the filing box with the compromising documents against Virgil Magureanu.

Virgil Magureanu Launched a Diversion: "The Cristea Case"

The latest data obtained by EVENIMENTUL ZILEI show that Virgil Magureanu launched an obnoxious diversion to divert attention from the "Diaconescu case" to the "Cristea case." We would like to recall that Maj. Gen. Dumitru Cristea, rector of the Higher Institute for Information Studies and deputy SRI director, was accused of immorality, that is of having a sexual affair with a former female student.

The "Cristea case" was presented in detail by Virgil Magureanu to the parliamentary commission for supervising the SRI activity and was reported with suspect promptness by all newspapers, who were supplied an abundance of information on the topic. The entire fabric of the scandal involving Maj.Gen. Dumitru Cristea was construed in accordance with the classic rules of disinformation.

The Sealing of Maj. Gen. Diaconescu's Filing Cabinet Was Done in Secret

The aim of all these efforts to divert attention from the compromising files on Maj. Gen. Magureanu was to guide the research of the journalists, of the members of the Parliament's SRI Supervisory Commission, and of the members of the parliamentary defense commissions into a totally different direction, namely the alleged sexual affair of Virgil Magureanu's deputy with a former female student.

In reality, the tension within the SRI is caused by the existence of Maj. Gen. Diaconescu's sealed filing cabinet, which contains some extremely compromising files that would lead to Maj. Gen Magureanu's immediate dismissal by Ion Iliescu.

In this respect, the efforts made by Virgil Magureanu to divert attention elsewhere appear extremely logical.

It is worth mentioning that Maj. Gen. Gheorghe Diaconescu's dismissal and the sealing of his filing cabinet were done in great secrecy, without prior notification to the SRI Supervisory Commission. One can easily assume that in the time which has elapsed since then, the documents have disappeared without a trace. Normally, the members of the SRI Supervisory Commission should have been notified in advance and its chairman, Senator Vasile Vacaru, should have been present at the sealing of the filing cabinet.

Maj. Gen. Diaconescu Is Being Subjected to Great Pressure

Although it is not the first time that we write about the implications of the "Diaconescu case," the former head of the Counterintelligence Division has not been yet heard; instead, he is being subjected to very strong pressure from Virgil Magureanu.

Anyone who has ever read an espionage book cannot possibly understand why Maj. Gen. Diaconescu's physical and psychological protection has not yet been secured up to this date. This omission can be easily explained if one considers the hypothesis that several persons, much more important than Maj. Gen. Magureanu, are involved in this scandal.

The immediate hearing of Maj. Gen. Diaconescu by all relevant bodies, including by the parliament's Defense Commissions, and the placing of the former chief of the Counterintelligence Division under effective protection are essential for the elucidation of this case.

Council of Europe Human Rights Officials Visit

Meet With UDMR, Other Representatives

AU2803165694 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 28 Mar 94

[Text] The two rapporteurs of the Council of Europe, Friedrich Koenig and Gunnar Janssen, who are currently visiting Bucharest, have so far held three meetings with the representatives of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania], the Romanies' minority, and with representatives of the National Council for Ethnic Minorities.

Our correspondent Dan Preda informed us that the representatives of the UDMR made numerous critical remarks about the Government of Romania and accused it of having an attitude of duplicity and of lacking any real political will to solve the recommendations formulated for Romania upon our country's admittance to the

Council of Europe. The UDMR representatives mentioned that, in the six months that have elapsed since the day when Romania joined the Council of Europe, no program for fulfilling the recommendations has been drafted or implemented. Likewise, the representatives of the UDMR affirmed that certain parties or political circles, both in the parliament as well as at the level of local administration in Romania, are still showing an attitude of intolerance and xenophobia. The UDMR representatives also criticized the attitude of the mayor of Cluj-Napoca Municipality and affirmed that he started implementing new discriminatory measures. The prefects were accused of taking abusive measures disfavoring the Hungarian minority as far as the bilingual signs and inscriptions are concerned.

The UDMR leaders also mentioned that the parliament approved certain discriminatory articles or laws, and as an example they mentioned the law on war veterans and the police law.

During the talks with the Council of Europe rapporteurs, the UDMR representatives mentioned that the pardoning decree signed by Romania's president, quote, only partially satisfied a written request of the UDMR, but since the act itself took place just before the arrival of the Council of Europe rapporteurs, it does not show a consistent policy aimed at implementing the recommendations of the Council of Europe, unquote.

Senator Gyorgy Frunda said that the presidential decree was based on ethnic criteria and several members of the Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party of Hungarian origin have remained imprisoned. He also draw Mr. Koenig's attention to the fact that Pal Cseresznyes, condemned after the March 1990 events in Targu Mures, although not guilty, has still not been pardoned.

Continuing their discussions, the rapporteurs met with representatives of Romanies and discussed the problems faced by this minority. During the talks, the Romanies discussed ways in which the court of justice approached cases that referred to the devastation of Romanies' dwellings in some counties.

Finally, the two rapporteurs held a meeting with the representatives of the National Council for Minorities. Viorel Hrebenciuc, general secretary of the government, said that the law on minorities is in its final stage of drafting and the government will forward it to the parliament the moment it is ready. Mr. Hrebenciuc also said that he hopes that Romania will ratify the convention for human rights by 15 April.

During the same talks, the representative of the (?Italian) minority affirmed that any ethnic minority has the right of veto in discussions that refer to that minority's own problems, and this does not justify any withdrawal from the Council of Minorities. The withdrawal of the Hungarian representatives from this council was considered as an example of lack of patience in finding solutions to certain problems. The head of the council, Viorel Hrebenciuc, also said that the establishment of this council shows the interest and political will to solve the problems of minorities in our country, and this is why the council has asked for a higher budget for this year than for the last year, our correspondent Dan Preda also informed us.

Meet With Party Leaders 28 Mar

AU2903083694 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 28 Mar 94

[Text] The two rapporteurs for the Council of Europe, Friedrich Koenich and Gunnar Jansson, met for an hour this afternoon with the representatives of the Democratic Party [PD] at the headquarters of the Senate. According to our correspondent, PD President Petre Roman said that with Romania's admission to the Council of Europe, the executive authority assumed certain commitments that it has so far failed to fully resolve. One of the major failings is the lack of independence of the judiciary. Another prominent PD leader, Victor Babiuc, said that there are extremist and chauvinist parties in many democratic countries in Europe but that in none of them does the executive rely on such parties, as is the case with Romania.

Continuing their meetings at Senate headquarters, the two Council of Europe rapporteurs met in turn with the representatives of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR], the Greater Romania Party [PRM], and the Socialist Party of Labor [PSM]. At the start of the meeting with the PUNR, Gheorghe Funar, president of that political grouping, said that the minorities should be indeed treated with goodwill, but he added that the complaints and memoranda of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] are artificial, being aimed and directed against the Romanian state, since a certain part of the Hungarian minority is acting on the basis of suggestions from abroad, whose aim is to destroy the Romanian state, which is protecting this minority. Another PUNR leader, Valer Suian, said that the reports, complaints, or other auxiliary documents sent to the Council of Europe should first be made known to the government or Parliament. PUNR official Adrian Motiu talked about certain aspects of Romanian political life, with particular reference to the UDMR, which he considered as a party based on ethnic and not political considerations.

During the meetings with the PRM representatives, Corneliu Vadim Tudor, president of that political grouping, agreed that the minorities have the right to study in their mother tongue, but said that this cannot yet apply to university education, since a minority student nevertheless attends higher education in order to become useful to Romanian society. The PRM representatives said that they understand this desire of the Hungarian minority to study in their mother tongue, but their request is not for a right, but rather for a privilege, since Romania has at least other 10 minorities that have not asked for such a thing.

In his speech, PSM President Ilie Verdet expressed concern over the revival of violence and of racist-nationalist movements in Romania. In his turn, [PSM Vice President] Adrian Paunescu said that certain requirements of the Council of Europe are being used by certain political forces in Romania against the stability of the Romanian state. Because the time allocated for this meeting was exceeded, Gunnar Jansson asked the PSM representatives to present their other comments in writing.

After this meeting, the two rapporteurs had a brief meeting with the representatives of the Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania [PDAR].

The last point on today's agenda of the two Council of Europe rapporteurs was their reception by the president of the two chambers of Romania's Parliament. During the meeting Jansson and Koenig emphasized the importance of Romania's observation of the commitments assumed, since they contribute to the country's political stability, international recognition, and the attraction of foreign capital. In their reply, [Senate President] Oliviu Gherman and [Chamber of Deputies Speaker] Adrian Nastase said that Romania will choose the best pace for the implementation of the commitments assumed, so that their solution will be a real one, in full accordance with Romanian legislation.

According to our correspondent Dan Preda, the two rapporteurs' series of meetings will continue tomorrow morning with the leaders of the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR].

Meetings With PDSR, CDR Reported

AU2903162194 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 29 Mar 94

[Text] Friedrich Koenig and Gunnar Jansson, rapporteurs of the Council of Europe, met today with the representatives of the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR]. On this occasion Florin Radulescu Botica, PDSR secretary and head of the Romanian parliamentary delegation to the Council of Europe, reiterated the political will and interest of both the PDSR and the government in ensuring the fulfillment of the commitments assumed by Romania upon admittance to the Council of Europe. The main target is the ratification by Parliament of the European Human Rights Convention, which will take place by 15 April at the latest. In his turn, Gunnar Jansson said this term of six months is quite extraordinary, if Romania ratifies the European Human Rights Convention by 15 April. Mr. Koenig left the meeting for a few minutes to inform the German and Austrian press—as he later told us—of President Ion Iliescu's act of clemency in pardoning certain detainees, an act that, according to Mr. Koenig, has been well received in Austria and Germany as they celebrate the Holy Week, according to the Catholic calendar.

The next meeting of the Council of Europe rapporteurs was with the representatives of the Democratic Convention [CDR], whose leader, Emil Constantinescu, reiterated the CDR's contribution to Romania's admittance to the Council of Europe, regarded as a goal in the national interest. Koenig said that the CDR's position has played a decisive role in ensuring a majority vote in favor of Romania's admittance. Emil Constantinescu referred to several aspects that he considered to be in dissonance with the commitments assumed. Among other things, he mentioned the government's sabotaging of the local administration, where the opposition holds an important stake; the need to ensure the dependence of the justice branch; and government corruption. The CDR leader said that the freedom of the press is total and real, with the pressures applied being generally of an economic nature. Emil Constantinescu emphasized the objective stance of the national radio station and the television's dependence on the power. At the end of the meeting, Dinu Patriciu, president of Liberal Party-1993, handed over to the two rapporteurs a memorandum from his political grouping, whereby it considers itself deprived of a rightful place in the parliamentary delegation to the Council of Europe.

The rapporteurs of the Council of Europe met with the leaders of the parliamentary groups from the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies.

Hold Talks With Rights Officials

AU3003115794 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 30 Mar 94

[Text] Today is the last day of meetings that the rapporteurs for Romania of the Council of Europe are having in our country.

The first meeting this morning took place with members of the bar of lawyers and then with representatives of the Association of Former Political Detainees, the Civic Alliance, and of the Associations of Former Revolutionaries. After 1030 the rapporteurs met with leaders of nongovernmental organizations in the area of human rights.

These first meetings permitted the representatives of those organizations to brief the rapporteurs on their activities and on the way the commitments that our country assumed when it was admitted to the Council of Europe are being fulfilled.

Asked by Friedrich Koenig which of these commitments would be given primary importance, Senator Constantin Ticu Dumitrescu emphasized that they were human rights and political rights. At the same time, Ticu Dumitrescu criticized President Ion Iliescu's attitude and the attitude by the majority party, which, in his opinion, after Romania's admission to the Council of Europe, prove that they do not want to renounce the monopoly of power.

Ana Blandiana handed a letter to the rapporteurs whereby the Council of Europe is informed about the Civic Alliance's intention to set up an institute of studies on totalitarianism under the aegis of the Council of Europe.

Nicolae Stefanescu-Draganesti, LADO [League for the Defense of Human Rights] president, demanded the results of the investigations on the 1990 miners' incursion when, in his opinion, hundreds of people were killed.

The meeting between the rapporteurs and the justice minister, the interior minister, the prosecutor general, and the president of the Supreme Justice Court ended shortly before 1300. On this occasion, Justice Minister Gavril Iosif Chiuzbaian presented the progress of the reform process in this ministry and announced that by 13 August 1994 all judges will be granted tenure.

Minister of interior Doru Ioan Taracila, presented the stage of the reform process in the ministry he headed affirming that 1,654 people who have committed violations have been removed from the police so far, and that the military magistracy has been notified about other 320 such cases of employees of the Ministry. He also said that he has not noted any cases of censorship by the police or cases when correspondence was opened. He emphasized that, in the shortest time possible, he would provide the rapporteurs with information on cases of censorship reported to him, and that he would take measures to punish all the guilty people.

Duties, Rights of Minorities Cited

AU3103090594 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0400 GMT 31 Mar 94

[Text] The Council of Europe rapporteurs held a news conference in Bucharest yesterday to mark the conclusion of the visit to our country of the two diplomats, Friedrich Koenig and Gunnar Jansson.

In the opening of the news conference Koenig made a few remarks, mentioning that he would like to elaborate a report that should be as balanced as possible. He also said that a special role in Romania's admittance as a full member of the Council of Europe was played not merely by the report he elaborated after his previous visit, but also by the constructive position of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] and the ethnic minorities. Koenig emphasized the fact that the favorable vote cast by the [Council of Europe] parliamentarians proved that they have confidence in the Romanian reform processes and that the goal of his current visit is to verify the way in which our country is complying with the pledges it made. Koenig also said that this is not an exceptional procedure, but rather one that was begun with Estonia and Slovakia and now continues with Romania. The speaker added that he did not come to Bucharest together with Jansson to teach Romania what to do, but rather to lend our country a helping hand in the democratization process.

Referring to the ethnic minority issue, the two rapporteurs outlined the fact that this issue is not specific merely to Romania, as a majority of the Council of Europe member countries are facing the same problem, and emphasized that the observance of ethnic minority rights is part of the observance of human rights. They also mentioned that according to the head of the Romanian delegation to the Council of Europe, by 15 April Romania will ratify the European Convention on Human Rights. The rapporteurs also mentioned that fact that the citizens belonging to ethnic minority groups have to be loyal to the country the citizens of which they are and to fulfill their duties, while the respective states have to offer them proper conditions to maintain their ethnic identity. They also assessed that Romania can play a very constructive role as a point of stability on the Balkans and that our country's wish to join the European family [of states] ought to be encouraged.

Yesterday Gunnar Jansson also met with the persons attending the preparatory course designed to train experts in ethnic minority issues and interethnic relations, which has been organized by the Council for Ethnic Minorities with the support of the European Center for Ethnic Issues and Social Communication Studies of the Romanian Academy. Jansson appreciated that course, asserting that it is unique throughout Europe. He also appreciated the fact that a national committee was set up to fight racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, and intolerance, a body that was established following the recommendations of the 1993 October Vienna conference of the Council of Europe.

Assembly Proclaims Federation Constitution

AU3003181894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 30 Mar 94

[Text] The constitutive Assembly has today proclaimed the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is to come into effect at midnight tonight. Within the next 14 days the constitutive Assembly is to elect the president and the vice president of the Federation, and the members of the government.

Croat Officials Comment

LD3003213994 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 30 Mar 94

[Excerpts] The constitutive assembly of the federal Bosnia-Herzegovina today proclaimed the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is to come into effect at 2400 this evening. Zdenko Vranjes reporting from Sarajevo:

[Begin recording] [Vranjes] It is worth mentioning that all deputies of the Croat and the Bosniak nations voted for the draft Constitution signed in Washington. The Constitution was proclaimed at 1710 this afternoon. [passage omitted]

Here is what Kresimir Zubak, the president of the Presidential Council of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, stated following the adoption of the Constitution of the federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina:

[Zubak] As far as we, the Croat deputies, are concerned, this was a formal act, an act of formal recognition of what we had confirmed by our signature.

[Vranjes] General Ante Roso, the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] chief of the General Staff, stated the following:

[Roso] I have been a soldier, and I am going to remain one. It is certain that a new situation has been created by the adoption of this legal document. New conditions have been created. One of the bases of this document is the restoration of peace in this area. We, Croats, are ready to restore peace in a consistent and dignified way. It is beyond any doubt that this is a great event for our people, for our people of Herceg-Bosna and for the people of Bosnia in general. I hope that the Bosniak people also welcome this offer.

Morale among the people has changed somewhat. People's behavior has also changed. It had been very difficult to believe this would happen just a few days ago. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Krajisnik: Former B-H 'Abolished' by Assembly

AU3103105494 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 31 Mar 94

[Text] Yesterday in Sarajevo, the Croatian-Muslim Assembly finally and formally abolished Bosnia-Herzegovina as a federal unit of the former Yugoslavia, Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the Assembly of the Srpska republic, said. We may all be pleased with this act. The former Bosnia-Herzegovina no longer exists and, due to this fact, we are altogether at a great step closer to peace, Krajisnik pointed out.

Addresses to Assembly, Proceedings Reported

Appeal by Herceg-Bosna Leader

AU3003184094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1429 GMT 30 Mar 94

[Address by Kresimir Zubak, leader of the Herceg-Bosna Croats, to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly in Sarajevo on 30 March—live]

[Text] Esteemed Presidency, ladies and gentlemen, deputies, and guests. We are drawing close to the moment when you gentlemen and lady deputies in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly—in line with your rights and duties—have to decide with your vote on what we, as representatives of the two peoples, agreed on and signed in Washington, which is contained in the draft constitution before you for adoption.

I have no doubt that today you will—as individuals and as delegations of the Croatian and Bosniak peoples, or others—give your vote and endorse our agreement. I share the hopes and convictions of all of you that—after we adopt the constitution, which is to take effect tonight at 2400—we will start to implement it. Then your decision of today, and I have said that I am convinced that you will endorse it, will not only be a solemn act but also a historic moment, and you have the honor to be historic participants in this act.

Both during the signing and the coordination of views concerning the contents of the constitution, I have stressed—and I have the right to say this in the name of the Croatian people—that the Croatian people are ready and willing to implement fully the agreement contained in the draft constitution. I would also like to say—and express my gratitude at the same time to the delegation of the Bosniak Muslim people—that through the coordination of views, and after long and exhausting talks, we have as a result a draft constitution that I am sure will enable us to realize all the interests of the Bosniak and the Croatia people.

For that reason I appeal to you and call on you today to cast your votes as deputies for the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina according to the principles envisaged in the document.

Ganic Addresses Assembly

AU3003165494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1431 GMT 30 Mar 94

[Address by Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency Vice President Ejup Ganic to Bosnia-Herzegovina Constituent Assembly in Sarajevo on 30 March—live]

[Text] President Izetbegovic is presently holding talks with the U.S. delegation, so I would like to greet you on his behalf and my own, and to stress something that I have noticed here, chatting to people I have not seen for a long time. You see, many problems have been solved. Two nations have agreed to go for the reconstruction of Bosnia as an integral state. I have not heard a single ugly word from any representative of the Croatian people or the Bosniak people about the Serbian people during our socializing here.

Now when one thinks about it and takes into account that there are some 500,000 to 550,000 Serbs on the territory controlled by that army of Karadzic's, that there are some 200,000 Serbs who stayed with us to defend Bosnia, and that many have left, I would like to send them a message: They should integrate all their forces and we will make an effort to talk with all of them, both with those who have left Bosnia, and of course those who are with us—we cooperated on a daily basis—and with those who are armed and failed to show loyalty to the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This agreement, this agreement that has been reached, it is not to anyone's disadvantage. This is an agreement of equal opportunities and rights for the three nations, and all the other nations.

I have said this before: One of the negotiators has said that the integral Bosnia will be saved when first two of the nations agree. However, I think there are more than two nations, that there are (forces) in the Serbian people, but they have to be integrated, they have to articulate their views [words indistinct] an integral Bosnia, since the (blood) of that nation has been spilt here, their historical monuments are here, their shrines—just as the culture of the Bosniak people, their monuments and their shrines spread throughout the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, from the Una River to the Drina River. We will try to conduct such a policy, to take advantage of the positive—what to call it—momentum, the positive momentum to continue the peace process with the aid of the international community.

Of course, the war criminals will end up where they belong. I would like to tell them, that segment of the Serbian people who have been deceived, that they should remember Hitler's proverb: If the German nation does not follow my ideas, then it does not deserve to exist. Therefore, fascists have always had similar messages. I call on the entire Serbian nation to integrate and fight since the more you try to divide Bosnia the more it looks the same.

I again stress that through my contacts here—not speaking of [word indistinct] whom I meet frequently, but the deputies from the Una River to the Drina River—noone said that this agreement was to the detriment of [words indistinct]. When one understands it, when one [words indistinct] [applause].

Therefore that is the message, and I think that we have now, with this act, thoroughly simplified the problem of the Bosnia- Herzegovina crisis. Things have come around full circle and that is how the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina will finally end. The troops that crossed the Drina River must go back there or they will eventually be defeated. Still it would be good if the Serbian people were to integrate their forces, so that we can reach an agreement and unveil their flag here, too. I know, of course, that there are many Serbs who have fought for Bosnia and died for Bosnia, some of them are here with us. I repeat that this agreement has been reached by healthy forces from the ranks of the Croatian and the Bosniak people—I always mention first the people to whom I do not belong out of some academic principles of my own. The Presidency and Federation bodies will continue to struggle for peace throughout the territory. We do not ask for anything except that every man have his house returned to him and that every man have his property returned to him, because pillage cannot be accepted at the beginning of the 21st century.

I wish to salute you with these words, and I wish you continuing happy efforts. Thank you very much.

Statement by Serb Council Adopted

AU3003151694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1203 GMT 30 Mar 94

["Statement referring to the amendment of the Serbian Citizens Council" adopted by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly in Sarajevo on 30 March; read by Mariofil Ljubic, deputy chairman of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly—live]

[Text] Mr. President, Esteemed Deputies, I would like to read the text of a statement:

The initiative of the deputies (?launched) at the session yesterday that the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina support the declaration of the congress of citizens of Serbian nationality in Bosnia-Herzegovina was supported by all deputy caucuses of the parties represented in the parliament and the Constitutional Commission.

The Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is counseled to adopt the following statement:

The Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina supports the positions of the congress of the citizens of Serbian nationality in Bosnia-Herzegovina adopted at the session held on 27 March 1994 and expressed in its declaration. The Assembly requests that the state delegations of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the

continuation of peace negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina, insist on their implementation when the final decision is made on the constitutional-legal set-up of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina at the peace conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina.

I propose that we accept this statement.

Amendments Ratified

AU3003143494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1159 GMT 30 March

[Amendments to the Constitutional Law adopted at the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly session in Sarajevo on 30 March; read by Kasim Begic, member of the Constitutional Commission—live]

[Text] The commission has decided to adopt the amendments that apply to the (?original) text. Article 1, paragraph 2 should include the words: possible changes. So, (?this is) a decision on possible changes.

Moreover, Article 4 will have a new paragraph, which reads: The Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, reshuffled according to the Constitution of the Federation, will perform the duties of the Government of the Federation.

Article 5, instead of the old paragraph 2, which is being nullified, contains a new paragraph: The competences of the Federation as determined by the Constitution of the Federation that refer to the international status [subjektivitet] and territorial integrity of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be exercised after the completion of the peace process for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

You have in the meantime received these changes to the original text, in other words, the amended text.

In addition, the commission proposes that Article 5 be followed by a new Article 6 that should read: In Article 9 of the Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the word Muslim is replaced with the word Bosniak.

The commission did not accept other amendments because some of them are not in the domain of constitutional matters. Some other amendments presented in the discussion here are not in line with the Washington Agreement, nor in line with the decision adopted by the Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina last night, which ratified the Washington Agreement. Some amendments are simply not correct. Therefore, they are not a result of the text of the Constitutional Law, but of a lack of understanding. For instance, regarding the name of the federation, the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot include the words: the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Regarding the amendments proposed by Mr. Ceman, the amendment that referred to a new paragraph in Article 2, the Constitutional Commission proposes that this be presented in the form of a statement by the Assembly, and that the text of the Constitutional Law not be changed, as this would open the question of whether the text of the Constitutional Law and the Washington Agreement are complementary.

Therefore, regarding the presented amendments, you now have in the edited text all the amendments that have been adopted by the Constitutional Commission, except the new Article 6. The existing, old Article 6 is now to become Article 7.

Finally, the Constitutional Commission is recommending to the deputies not to hold a discussion on the proposed Constitutional Law for two reasons. First, there has already been time to discuss it and the deputies, and the Presidency and the Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina have already expressed their views on it. The other reason is that every new amendment would require additional assessment by the Constitutional Commission. In this way we would only prolong what we are all waiting for, I hope, namely the session of the constituent assembly.

Therefore, I ask the deputies to ratify, as stated here, the proposed Constitutional Law, as a supplement to the Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Leaders Comment on Federation Agreement

Komsic on Territorial Integrity

AU3003180894 Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 23 Mar 94 p 5

[Report by S. Despot: "Turning Point in Relations Between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina"]

[Text] Zagreb—"The most important achievement of the Washington Agreement and its documents is that the conflict between the Croats and the Muslims-Bosniaks, which was artificial from the beginning, has been ended. The Washington talks mark a turning point in global relations between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina with the signing of the preliminary agreement on stronger institutional relations between the two countries," said Ivo Komsic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and participant in the Washington talks, at a press conference held at the Bosnia-Herzegovina Embassy.

Expressing hope that the Washington constitution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina federation will be accepted on 28 March—he announced that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly would convene that day—Komsic said it was supposed to become effective at midnight on 29 March. The Constituent Assembly will be made up of deputies elected at the 1990 elections, except for those whose mandate had been canceled. The president and vice president of the Assembly will also be appointed that day; one a Muslim, the other a Croat. Apart from adopting the constitution of the federation, the Assembly is also entrusted with passing the election law for the forthcoming elections, which—Komsic hopes—will be held in a couple of months.

According to Komsic, the importance of the Washington talks lies in reaching the federation agreement according to the principles laid down by the Sarajevo assembly held on 6 February, while the public of both countries will decide about the question of a confederation between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

There Will Be Resistance

"I am aware that some people will resist the implementation of both agreements, both the one on the principles of the federation and that on the confederation agreement, but I expect the resistance to come from people who have been hindering the negotiations between the two nations from the beginning," said Komsic in reply to a question from the press, commenting on the views of the Croats from the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna that they will not accept the federation without firm ties with Croatia. However, he said that he expects people only to hinder the implementation, not to prevent it, for it was arranged at a high level under the auspices of the United States, which has finally become involved in solving the crisis on this territory and it will not allow the agreement to fall through.

Asked whether the agreement was reached only as a result of U.S. pressure, Komsic said that the U.S. Administration had been restrained until the Croat-Muslim conflict broke out. It was then that the United States decided to get involved in solving the crisis and even go as far as—unless there is another possibility—to accept a possible agreement between the Croatian National Council and the Muslim-Bosniak leadership as a basis to which further pressure on the warring factions could be applied. "Fortunately, the Croatian authorities decided to make an about-turn in their policies adopting solutions advocated by the opposition," said Komsic, and added that the cantonal map drawn up by the Sarajevo assembly was accepted.

"We agreed that central Bosnia will consist of two cantons, neither of which will have a predominant nationality, just as that kind of predominance was not planned in any other canton, regardless of the majority nation," said Komsic, explaining that the cantonal borders would be determined by expert groups.

Herceg-Bosna Did Not Exist

He explained that the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna has never existed, formally or legally speaking. During the war, some institutions of authority were established without legitimacy (which only the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina had all the while), but with great political power. He said that it was agreed that some institutions of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna will continue to function for another month after the adoption of the constitution of the federation—which will refer to the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina—and that, after that period of time, they should be abolished.

Asked how the Bosnian Serbs would be included in the agreement, Komsic drew a distinction between loyal Serbs, who will be involved in the political life of the federation, and those in the occupied areas, who have not yet become involved in the negotiating process. Asked about the chances of the Croat-Muslim alliance attacking the Serbs, he said that the agreement excluded the military option and it was devised on the model of eliminating the causes of war. If the Serbs do not accept the agreement, they will have to consider a series of other possibilities and Komsic said it would be best to combine diplomatic and military pressure, according to the Sarajevo model.

He said that there is absolutely no chance of a union of the Bosnian Serbs with Serbia, for that would mean destroying the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Serbs, who are aggressors both in Croatia and in Bosnia-Herzegovina, must not be joined in one state as a reward. "We should not make any concessions to the Serbs; they must be politically and militarily defeated," said Komsic.

Silajdzic Comments Reported

AU3003144994 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 21 Mar 94 p 2

[Report on interview with Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic by Branko Tudjen; place and date not given: "The Agreement Must Not Fail!"]

[Text] It has been very difficult to reach any leading Bosniak-Muslim official in Washington and entice him into giving an interview. However, sometimes coincidence is a much more important factor than the planned goal. We first stumbled across Mr. Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in a Washington restaurant, the proprietor of which is a Croat. It was the night before signing the agreement. Mr. Silajdzic and his company sat next to our table where there were five or six Croatian journalists. He promised he would say something, but suddenly got up (it seems that the reason was a child that fell asleep) and went toward the door. We also got up, but too late. We only managed to ask him how to include the Serbs in all that, so, imitating the Zagreb dialect, he said: "We will see."

Then there was another coincidence on the Lufthansa flight from Washington to Frankfurt on Saturday night. We spotted Silajdzic again. This time he was with Alija Izetbegovic, in the first class compartment of Lufthansa's Airbus. Silajdzic did not refuse to talk to me. Our conversation was a kind of an unauthorized interview over the Atlantic at three o'clock in the morning, CET.

I first asked him what he thought about the agreement.

He answered, "I think it is a victory of the natural over the unnatural. The conflict was unnecessary, planned, and imposed. The agreement is a victory of the civilized over the uncivilized. I also think it is a victory of each and every one of us over ourselves. Wounds are too deep

and too fresh. It took a lot of energy to do this and it will take much energy to heal the wound."

Europe and Reward for Genocide

I asked Mr. Silajdzic, "Some think the agreement came about overnight; on the other hand, some say it was initiated a long time ago."

He replied "Mr. Granic and myself, of course with the permission of both presidents, have been working on this for months. The agreement is a result of much effort. We must not let the agreement fail because of the interest of individuals who promote radical ideas (there are such people on both sides). First of all, we must not allow more conflicts, for we would then be accused by not only the civilized public, but also by our children and history. The conflict between the Croats and the Muslims has no other foundation but human stupidity, love of power, and greed."

Mr. Silajdzic then wanted to state the following:

"The United States is both on your side and our side, but I must reproach it for still tolerating the aggression and rewarding the genocide as a means of establishing peace."

I thought it logical to ask about his views on the problem of the UNPA [UN Protected Area] zones in Croatia.

He said, "Everything must be founded on the UN Charter and on the principles of the London conference, which say that territory cannot be taken by force. President Clinton confirmed that the United States would protect the integrity of all countries in this region, especially that of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. One cannot allow changing borders in the 20th century under the pretext that all members of one nation must live in one country. Serbian aggression is a prism through which we can see all sides of Europe. Europe has hitherto shown one of its darker sides. Fortunately, relations change. Both sides, Croatian and ours, must persist on the Washington agreement for it will significantly improve both our positions."

"But what will happen to the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina? The West and Russia have opposite intentions," I asked.

Silajdzic answered, "The Serbs will be offered the chance to join the agreement that is supported by the entire civilized world. I would not like to discuss details. I believe a great number of the Serbs want peace, but cannot say it. The problem lies in the fact that the West gives legitimacy to those who destroyed all principles of our civilization, and takes the legitimacy away from those whose rights were violated—the very rights that are so often mentioned by the West. I am curious to know how many observers Western countries will send to Sarajevo for the Serbian assembly that will take place on 27 March. Continuing the process, we will consider the problem of the union with the Serb entity existing on predominantly Serb areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Satanization of Fundamentalism

I asked Mr. Silajdzic if he was a Bosniak or a Muslim.

He replied "I am a Bosniak who was not allowed to be called that, although we have existed for a thousand years. Unfortunately, due to various circumstances, it so happened that the bond between the name of the country and the nation broke, and we were named after our religion."

During our conversation, we broached the question of Islamic fundamentalism. Interestingly enough—this was not an interview in the usual sense, so I can tell you my impressions—Mr. Silajdzic took a great interest in the subject.

He answered, "Every belief and religion is fundamental by definition. This is a term which is supposed to degrade all aspects of cultural, religious, and social dynamism in Islamic countries in the past couple of decades. The term fundamentalism is used as an ideological alternative that, after the fall of socialism, is taken as a serious competition and opponent. And this is why it has negative connotations."

I then asked, "But even if you were right, fundamentalism is very much talked and written about. You cannot disregard that."

He said, "The satanization of fundamentalism, which is a result of a long process, definitely does not lead anywhere. This benefits those who do not have much to do with religion, but want to have power. That is the problem."

Parting with Mr. Silajdzic, who was then, incidentally, "taken over" by a journalist of STERN who happened to be there, I remembered something I had heard when we were leaving Washington: That the radical change of U.S. views has not been made because of Islamic countries, nor because of Russian penetration onto the territory of former Yugoslavia, but because of domestic politics. If that is the case, then things are not as we thought they were. However, Croatia would not be a loser in that case either.

Leaders Meet With Albright, Shalikashvili

AU3003192394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 30 Mar 94

[Text] The official delegation of the United States led by Madeleine Albright, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, and General John Shalikashvili, commander of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces, arrived in Sarajevo this afternoon. The delegation was received by President Alija Izetbegovic of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, Presidency member Ejup

Ganic, Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic, and Defense Minister Hamdija Hadzihasanovic.

General John Shalikashvili held talks with Army General Rasim Delic, commander of the General Staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. It is the greatest honor for the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army to be visited by General Shalikashvili, General Rasim Delic told B-H PRESS after the meeting. The talks concerned the course of the negotiations and the process leading to peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. General Delic stated:

We should say that we have the full support of the United States, both the U.S. political and military leadership, to reach an agreement as soon as possible that would guarantee a just peace. We said that we were interested only in just peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In that respect we expect that the support of the United States will be the deciding factor in bringing about the kind of peace that our people want, General Delic said.

Koljevic Views Upcoming Talks With Redman

AU3003201394 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 30 Mar 94

[Text] [Studio announcer] Radovan Karadzic and Nikola Koljevic, president and vice president of the Srpska republic, and Chairman of the Srpska republic assembly Momcilo Krajisnik, today held talks in Pale with members of the British Foreign Office delegation headed by Roger (?Bown). The leadership of the Serbian republic told the British diplomats that peace should first be established and territory demarcated in the area of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, then political talks could be initiated on the Croatian-Muslim Federation and the Serbian republic's position regarding this newly established state. Here is what Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Srpska republic, told our correspondent Dragan Colovic on his expectations of the talks with U.S. President Clinton's special envoy Charles Redman, scheduled for tomorrow [31 March]:

[Begin recording] [Koljevic] Well, we expect a further concretization of the talks initiated by the British, therefore, we expect the beginning of discussions on the demarcation and the beginning of discussions about those urgent measures that need to be taken in order to establish and strengthen peace. I believe that it was Mr. Akashi who said that peace was on glass legs; that is accurately stated; peace should move on from those glass legs to a more stable basis, a more stable material than glass. We shall discuss this with Mr. Redman and, of course, we shall also discuss the possibilities of the preliminary framework for the demarcation with the newly established federation.

[Colovic] Will issues pertaining to relations between the Serbian republic and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia also be included in the talks?

[Koljevic] Well, most probably. It depends on what kind of concept is proposed for a link between the Srpska republic and this newly established federation, that is, there are various ways in which the Srpska republic can achieve its independence and sovereignty, and, of course, realize its natural links with Yugoslavia. I say natural, because it is quite normal and the international community is aware that the links between the Srpska republic and Yugoslavia are far more natural than the links currently burdened by antagonism. [sentence as heard] Of course, time will show that this antagonism can be overcome, but links with our brothers in Yugoslavia can only grow stronger. Therefore, we are primarily going to see what would be the internationally desirable sequence of measures that would not be in contradiction with out strategic interests. [end recording]

Serb Attack on Gorazde Continues; Casualties

AU3103091994

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0800 GMT on 31 March reports fighting in the following parts of the country:

The correspondent from Gorazde, Enes Musovic, reports that "the chetniks have been pounding all lines of defense of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army fighters with artillery of the largest calibers the entire night." As he continues to say, "the situation is extremely fierce on all lines of Gorazde's defense on the right bank of the Drina River" while "on the left bank of the Drina River the chetniks are attacking from Ustipraca and Mesici at Kopaci and Trovrh." "From 1900 last night to 0800 this morning one person died and eight sustained serious injuries. Yesterday and the day before, 15 people were killed and 40 injured."

"The activities of the Serbian aggressor against the Bihac district have continued overnight and this morning," correspondent Mirza Sadikovic says. "Yesterday, in the early evening, Karadzic's terrorists attacked the center of Bihac [words indistinct] as well as the hospital. New material damage was caused and, according to incomplete reports, there are injured civilians. In the course of the night, the intensity of shelling subsided a little because of low flights by NATO aircraft." "In other areas," Sadikovic goes on, "antiaircraft arms' fire and sniper fire were observed in the course of the night and since early morning." "On the separating lines with the paramilitary formations of the so-called Kladusa autonomists, there have been provocative attacks with mortars and hill guns at various intervals, launched from the area of Krivaja and [word indistinct] in the Kladusa commune."

FRY Troops in Gorazde

AU3103112494

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1000 GMT on 31 March carries more reports about the combat situation:

"The situation around Gorazde is getting worse," correspondent from Gorazde Enes Musovic reports "as the chetniks are intensifying their attacks by the hour. One grenade lands here every second." Musovic then goes on to say that "last night a group of 1,000 soldiers of the regular Yugoslav Army, armed to the teeth and escorted by armored personnel carriers, crossed the Bosnia-Herzegovina border and arrived in Visegrad. In this way the self-styled Yugoslavia is making its full contribution to the aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina."

The 3d Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army reports that "the 3d Corps units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army yesterday conquered several important elevations and settlements on the Teslic-Seher battlefield, starting from Veliki Kraguljac and Mali Kraguljac, and the village of Karanovica." The Corps also reports that "the chetnik artillery from (?Srpske Stijene) sporadically shelled Secevo, Djaki, and Turbe, while the town of Bugojno was attacked from the direction of Kupres."

"The defense lines have moved to the advantage of the free Bosnia-Herzegovina territory on the Brcko battlefield," Hamiz Deronjic reports from Brcko. As he says "yesterday afternoon, the chetniks launched a fierce tank-infantry attack that was supported by self-propelled antiaircraft artillery [PRAGA] and Bofors guns. The soldiers of the Legendary 108th Brigade halted the enemy and, after the accurate hits of our artillery destroyed a chetnik PRAGA with its entire crew, they moved into a decisive counterattack. They killed some 10 chetniks and injured many more. In a powerful counterattack, the soldiers of the 108th Motorized Brigade moved the line of defense by half a kilometer in the direction of the aggressor's strongholds of Pekici and Sekulici."

Civilians, Children Hit

AU3003141694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 Mar 94

[Report by Fahrudin Becic from Gorazde]

[Text] Eight killed and 25 wounded is the tragic result of this morning's frenzy of the chetnik artillery men against Gorazde. Most of these were civilians, and unfortunately again several were children between the ages of three and 10.

The (shelling) from the aggressor's strongholds has not stopped for long enough to let the guns cool. The area of (Gradina) has been pounded with howitzers from the right side of Gavran Stijena. They have attempted an infantry attack along the Ustipraca-(Mesici) line, and the intensive attacks have not let up since last night.

It is equally dramatic on the southern part of the front, in the region of (Zibovi), (Potrkusa), and (?Oblenceva). At noon, the aggressor intensified attacks on the area of Orahovice, on the border between the Gorazde and Pale communes. Behind the enemy front lines, the new forces of the regular army of the so-called Yugoslavia have been grouping. There is no doubt that the rest of the day will be even more dramatic.

It is hard to believe that high-altitude flights of what are probably NATO planes will change anything. When they flew away, heavy artillery shells came flying in from the aggressor's positions. We do not yet have precise information about the consequences. It is particularly hard to obtain information from the remote parts of the front.

Text of RSK-Croatia Cease-Fire Accord

LD3003150294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1028 GMT 30 Mar 94

[Text] Knin, 30 Mar (TANJUG)—ISKRA [Serb Krajina news agency] has been authorized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to publish the full text of the cease-fire accord between the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] and the Republic of Croatia, signed at 0430 on 30 March 1994 in the Russian Embassy in Zagreb.

The following is the full text of the accord:

The signatories accept that all armed hostilities between the two sides should cease immediately and that total observance of the cease-fire along all confrontation lines [linija dodira] (henceforth the confrontation line), as they were on the day of 29 March 1994, should begin at 0900 on 4 April 1994.

To achieve and maintain a permanent cessation of hositilities, the sides agreed to accept, and act in accordance with, the letter and spirit of the following points:

1. All armed hositilities to cease immediately and the cease-fire along the confrontation line to begin at 0900 on 4 April 1994.

2. From the day of the signing, the tactical deployment of the forces along the confrontation line and within 10 kms from the confrontation line to be frozen on both sides. There will be no movement of units within this zone except for the purpose of implementing this accord or with the prior authorization of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces]. UNPROFOR will be informed of the passage of units with more than three vehicles through the zone during the first 14 days from the signing of the accord.

3. By 0900 on 5 April 1994 at the latest, all indirect weapons [indirektno naoruzanje] to be deployed beyond the range of the confrontation line (as defined in Point Four) as follows: mortar launchers and anti-aircraft guns at least 10 kms away and artillery weapons and tanks at least 20 kms away. In an exceptional situation, the sides can store some of the indirect weapons within the 20-km zone, as provided for in Point Four, Annex B, "The Rules of Disengagement."

4. By 0900 on 8 April 1994 at the latest, all units along the confrontation line will be disengaged. On the basis of the disengagement, both sides will pull back to at least 1,000 meters from the confrontation line to their line of separation (henceforth the line of separation) [linija razdvajanja]. The lines are as marked on the maps endorsed by the sides and attached in Annex D. The units are to withdraw to a distance from where the sides will not be capable of targeting each other from direct firearms [direktno vatreno oruzje]. The separation line should be easily indentifiable (preferably to run along a geographic feature such as a road, a river, a pass, and so forth). The zone between the separation lines will be under the exclusive control of UNPROFOR, and except for the personnel identified in Annex B of the Accord, no military, paramilitary, militia, or police personnel from either side will be allowed to remain in the zone. The sides will, however, be obliged to help UNPROFOR in preventing crime and upholding law and order between the separation lines, as specified in Point 9 and 10 of Annex B.

5. UNPROFOR and the ECMM [EC Monitoring Mission] will supervise the cease-fire. UNPROFOR military observers will be granted full freedom of movement on both sides of the separation lines to enable them to check that the weapon systems as specified in the Accord are deployed beyond the minimum distance from the separation lines. Freedom of movement in the areas as defined above implies the right to inspect all military and paramilitary units and facilities, provided four-hour prior notice is given. In accordance with the Memorandum of Understanding, the ECMM will be given full freedom of movement in all areas covered by the Memorandum. UNPROFOR, which is to operate in accordance with its mandate, will be granted full freedom of movement in all relevant areas and the right to inspect all military and paramilitary units and facilities as described. The freedom of movement in the above areas implies the unlimited use of helicopters in those areas.

6. Joint commissions will be established at all levels. Their first task will be the demarcation of the line of separation on the ground, in keeping with the principles set out in Point Four. This should be achieved by 13 April 1994. Their main task is to investigate immediately any cease-fire violation. The aim of an investigation is to establish responsibility for such a violation. The commission investigating a cease-fire violation will be informed—by the side which is deemed responsible for the violation—of all disciplinary measures or other actions undertaken in connection with the incident.

These commissions will be established before the cease-fire comes into effect. The commissions will be chaired by an UNPROFOR representative who will—at his or her own initiative, or at the request of the sides—schedule meetings for the participants. Meetings will begin, with all sides attending, in the shortest possible time after receipt of a request from the headquarters of the members. Details concerning the composition, the venues for the holding of meetings, and documentation are, as agreed, to be found in Annex B.

7. If any violation of the cease-fire or other provision of this agreement comes about, neither side will return fire; instead, they will rely fully on the procedures envisaged in Point Six above.

8. The participants are agreed on the opening of a specific number of crossing points along the confrontation line. These new crossing points, as well as those which already exist, are listed in Annex A. UNPROFOR will have its own checkpoint on all these crossings. All the checkpoints or other positions of the two sides must be located sufficiently far from the UN checkpoints as to

render sniper fire or fire from heavy machine guns ineffective. At all the checkpoints UNPROFOR will specify facilities for the holding of meetings of the joint commissions. All crossing points will be opened at the latest three hours after the cease-fire comes into effect.

9. The sides will meet and agree on ways to reduce their forces within a 10-km zone, stretching back from both sides of the confrontation line, by 0900 on 19 April 1994 at the latest. This reduction in the forces will be completed within five days of reaching agreement.

Sarinic Comments on Accord

LD3003202594 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 30 Mar 94

[Studio interview with Croatian National Security Adviser Hrvoje Sarinic by an unidentified correspondent in Zagreb—live]

[Text] [Correspondent] Our guest this evening is Mr. Hrvoje Sarinic, a man who early this morning signed a cease-fire accord with the Serbs from the UNPA [UN Protected Areas] on behalf of the delegation of the Republic of Croatia. Mr. Sarinic, in specific terms, what is Croatia gaining by this accord?

[Sarinic] First, if you permit me, let me correct you. I have not signed only the accord, but also 35 maps attached to the accord, without which the accord would not function. I will now answer your question.

By this accord, Croatia has taken the first step on the road to peace and the normalization of relations within the borders of the Republic of Croatia; how brief, but how important at the same time. For, after four years of all that has happened, it is obvious that everyone—all Croats and even those in Krajina—have awaited this accord with great impatience.

The accord was not a goal in itself. It is merely the first step in the process that will take us toward full normalization of relations, but without which the next two stages—i.e., talks about normalizing economic relations and, eventually, about a political solution—would not be possible at all if we had failed in our first task, which was ending hostilities.

[Correspondent] What exactly is meant by the cessation of hostilities? Many accords have been signed so far. Many agreements have been reached, but this one seems to be a watershed.

[Sarinic] This one is obviously a watershed for two fundamental reasons. The first is that the entire international community is a guarantor behind this accord. You saw that the negotiations were attended by representatives of the two greatest powers in the world: a personal envoy of President Clinton, a personal envoy of President Yeltsin, a representative of the European Community and, finally, a UN representative. In other words, the creme de la creme of world politics was present here. This in itself is a guarantee that the accord will be implemented on the ground.

The second fundamental reason is that the accord is technically a very good one. I will not go into all technical details of the agreement. However, I can describe three important stages:

The freezing of all forces in the 20-km long corridor, i.e. 10 km on either side, begins on 4 April. This is followed by the withdrawal of all heavy weapons on both sides. The weapons are to be placed under UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] control at such a distance that they can no longer be used for shelling the combat lines that had been shelled during the hostilities.

Finally, the third, and not the least important reason, is that the infantry will be separated. Each side will withdraw by one kilometer, and UNPROFOR will move into the vacated area. For instance, there will be no technical means if either side wanted to continue the hostilities since, as I have said, the heavy weaponry will be under control and would be too far to be of any use, while, on the other side, UNPROFOR will be deployed between the two infantries.

[Correspondent] What is UNPROFOR authorized to do in case the agreement is not implemented?

[Sarinic] A number of measures have been envisaged. There will be mixed commissions. There will be clauses that will specify what to do in case of any incidents. Neither side must respond in case of incidents. Mixed commissions will meet immediately, report the incidents, and there will be some sort of a legal mechanism that will prevent any further escalation.

[Correspondent] Does the Croatian side have any objections to negotiators on the other side?

[Sarinic] I would not like to say it here. Of course, there have been sparks, and specific problems have arisen during the talks, but we have resolved them quite successfully. We had another problem though, not only with the other side but also with UNPROFOR's status and the way in which UNPROFOR will be involved in the implementation of the agreement itself. In order to feel more comfortable—if I can say it that way—UNPROFOR wanted to have absolute control and absolute freedom of movement—absolute control of everything in our territory. Of course, we agree regarding all those aspects where control is necessary for the agreement to be implemented and to be effective. They had our full cooperation in this, but we could not allow certain things, i.e. that Croatian territory should become some sort of a colony. Our stand was clear in this respect. We will cooperate efficiently [as heard]; however, we attach enormous importance to our independence, and we do not want Croatia to become Cyprus over a long period of time. We devoted special attention to this. I would even say that almost half of the negotiating time was devoted to this matter.

[Correspondent] A conviction prevails in Croatia that peace will be restored only when UNPROFOR is deployed along the borders of the sovereign and independent Republic of Croatia. How close is this agreement to that?

[Sarinic] Well, listen, these are two problems. Your second question is more in connection with the next UNPROFOR mandate. Of course, we have been insisting on it, the Croatian leadership has been insisting on it. The problem of controlling the borders is naturally the fundamental problem, however, because it creates conditions for the prevention of an influx of weapons and special units from the east. This further creates conditions for the resolution of difficult problems, very complex problems, in a normal way—problems of the type of autonomy. All these solutions will be based on our Constitution and the constitutional law. In this regard, however, Croatia will particularly insist that the next UNPROFOR mandate should create conditions for controlling borders.

I must say that UNPROFOR does not have the power to implement it today. But, you know, what before seemed to be science fiction—that NATO could come and secure these borders—is becoming a very realistic possibility today that is being examined by all, including the top players in the international arena.

[Correspondent] At the end, these negotiations lasted quite long. What was the atmosphere like, and why was it shrouded in so much secrecy when it came to the flow of information, when it came to all those things in which our public was so much interested?

[Sarinic] This is almost a provocative question from you, because personally I am not much inclined to great media coverage. I believe that we must not interrupt business and come out with details from the course of negotiations when such serious business is being dealt with, because many different interpretations will be given that can have a negative effect on the results of the negotiations.

We were very disciplined. We had agreed with the mediators in these negotiations, and nobody, as you saw, made any statements.

[Correspondent] What are further steps to be taken now?

[Sarinic] Further steps are the following: We must not treat the signed agreement in a static way. It is only phase one, and it is to be implemented on the ground in seven to 10 days. We will have additional meetings immediately afterwards, which we have to prepare and at which we will examine economic issues. Talks on the specific political solution will be held after that. I think that talks on phase three will begin in three weeks or one month. They are not going to be concluded in one night. No matter how long they may be, we created conditions for them today.

[Correspondent] Mr. Sarinic, thank you very much for the interview.

[Sarinic] Thank you.

Krajina's Martic Expects 'Serb Lands' To Unify

AU3003144294 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 27 Mar 94 p 2

[Unattributed report: "We Are Going To Change the System of Defense"]

[Text] When the new Ustasha state threatened us with a repeat of genocide in the summer of 1990, we had to be the first to start an uprising against those to whom the Serbs themselves, through their superhuman struggle, and as if on a platter, presented a state that they had not managed to create for 1,000 years.

The just struggle for the physical survival of the Serbian people of Krajina has put back on the world political scene the need for Serbian national unity, which was interrupted at the end of 19th century and the beginning of 20th century. In this I see the greatest contribution of the Krajina people to the universal struggle of the Serbian people for national unity.

This is what, among other things, Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serbian Krajina, said in an interview to VOJSKA KRAJINE. Martic pointed out the following:

"Being positioned at the far western outpost of the Serbian nation and surrounded by the hostile politics of Croatia, the Serbs in Krajina have managed, over three years and with many casualties, to withstand all the assaults of the Ustasha state and to preserve their freedom. We have managed to create a state with all the attributes of statehood except international recognition. The world's politicians are already getting used to this state as a reality, and I think that, regardless of their wishes, Croatia's politicians will also have to respect it because there will be no peace in these regions without that."

Not Only Defensive

I expect, Martic says, that this year a solution will be found to the clashes on the territory of the former Yugoslavia and thereby to the question of the unification of Serbian states. This was my election program and, even more important, it was with such an orientation that we set off into this new pan-Serbian struggle in which we have suffered huge losses for the umpteenth time.

Nobody, including those of us who now lead the people, has the right to betray these ideals that have moved our people into new sufferings and self-denials. Pan-Serbian unification is our strategic aim and our program. How we will implement that strategy is another question. I think that the obstacles will be huge and that a lot of

political wisdom and skill, and a lot of unity and patience will be needed to realize this great aim.

In reply to the question about the defense of the republic of Serbian Krajina, Martic said the following:

Our defense has so far been based on outdated and inefficient principles—on the principle of armed people and defending of one's own home. We mobilized almost all the citizens who could fight but we nevertheless had poor results in some military operations. A large proportion of the armed men were disorganized and resorted to their own initiative, something that can be fatal in war. Therefore, changes that will fundamentally modify the defense system are needed. On the one hand, we will be working on creating a professional core of the army, which will consist of mobile and stable maneuver units, well equipped and paid. Such units would be able to perform all tasks, be it defending an section of our territory under attack or dealing a blow to the enemy where he is most sensitive. We must no longer exclusively base our defense on a defensive strategy, that is, on defending the regions under attack.

On the other hand, our global policy will be directed toward creating conditions for peace, above all through political negotiations with the side at war. We can enter these negotiations only if we have forces that the enemy respects.

The Return of Officers

According to some people, professionalization in the army, in the way it should be, will weaken our defense force, which is completely wrong. As I have already said, now we only have armed people, but that cannot be considered a real army. The working population will still be military reservists who, if need be, can be mobilized at any moment.

It is important to distribute the load of war more equally among all republic of Serbian Krajina citizens. When I say this I mean that all those who have so far not felt the war should in a way in the future be included in what we call the united defense system. As regards deserters, there are measures to deal with them, and as regards private entrepreneurs, we have nothing against them doing their job, but they should also perform their duties in defense.

One component upon which we will build our defense system is good cooperation with the armed forces of the Srpska republic and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Now we can create a model of armed forces that may be a basis for a united army in the future joint state. For this, of course, we need the help and cooperation of military and civilian structures in other Serbian lands. As regards this help, it has never been lacking so far. However, we must insist on the return of all militarily fit citizens who are in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] at the moment. Officers are particularly valuable to us and, in this regard, we have received understanding among the FRY authorities in helping us have these people return to the Krajina.

Croats 'Torching' Serb Villages in Zadar Region

LD3003202094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1945 GMT 30 Mar 94

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Mar (TANJUG)—The village of Islam Grcki and a part of the village of Kasic in the Zadar hinterland, which are still controlled by the Croatian forces and which should be returned to the republic of Serb Krajina according to the cease-fire agreement signed in Zagreb last night, were in flames at around 1900 this evening, ISKRA [Krajina Serb news agency] has reported.

This news caused anger among the Serb fighters in the area of Benkovac who wanted to retaliate by attacking Croatian troops because of this barbarism. As ISKRA has learned from the Serb Krajina army liaison officer, Mladen Kalapac, the Serb side immediately reacted by demanding an immediate halt to the torching of the Serb villages.

UN Protection Force representatives promised they would most urgently get involved in preventing the torching of the villages of Kasic and Islam Grcki.

Babic To Become RSK Deputy Prime Minister

LD2903191394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1813 GMT 29 Mar 94

[Excerpt] Knin, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—Boris Mikelic, the prime minister-designate of the republic of Serb Krajina, told TANJUG this evening that Milan Babic had accepted in principle his offer to become the deputy prime minister of the government. Mikelic said that this position was offered to the leader of the Serb Democratic Party of Krajina, Milan Babic, after consultations with party leaders. According to Mikelic, Babic accepted the offer in principle. [passage omitted]

Shalikashvili Arrives in Skopje for Visit

LD3003220194 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2000 GMT 30 Mar 94

[Text] General Shalikashvili, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces, arrived this evening in Skopje for a one-day visit to The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM]. Gen. Shalikashvili, who arrived here from Sarajevo, is to be received tomorrow by Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov and by Stevo Crvenkovski and Vlado Popovski, ministers for foreign affairs and defense, respectively. During the course of his visit, Gen. Shalikashvili is to pay a visit to the U.S. Blue Helmets and is to have talks with Norwegian Gen. Tringve Telefsen, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] commander for Macedonia.

U.S. Envoy To Mediate Conflict With Athens

LD2903140494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1315 GMT 29 Mar 94

[Text] Skopje, 29 Mar (TANJUG)—Matthew Nimetz, special envoy of the U.S. President responsible for the conflict between Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Repulic of Macedonia—FYROM] and Greece, arrived from Athens in Skopje today for talks with Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov and Minister of Foreign Affairs Stevo Crvenkovski. In a brief press statement following an hour and a half of talks, Nimetz was confident that the United States would play a useful role in the efforts to resolve the conflict between Skopje and Athens.

After his visit to Macedonia, Nimetz is expected to return to Athens.

Following his talks with Nimetz, Minister Crvenkovski said that the U.S. envoy was told of Macedonia's satisfaction at President Clinton's decision to become involved in the conflict by appointing an envoy. Crvenkovski said Macedonia was willing to resume negotiations to resolve the conflict within the United Nations and with Cyrus Vance as mediator. He went on to draw attention to Macedonia's view that there were no prospects for resuming the dialogue while the pressure of embargo was in place.

Crvenkovski Welcomes U.S. Mediation

AU2903194494 Skopje MIC in English 29 Mar 94

[Unattributed report: "Stevo Crvenkovski: 'Little Can Be Done Under Pressure'"]

[Text] After the talks with Matthew Nimetz, Macedonia's [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski stated that Macedonia was satisfied that the United States has its own mediator in the Macedonian-Greek dispute, who was in tight coordination with the UN mediator Cyrus Vance.

"This way, President Clinton will have the opportunity to become closer acquainted with the dispute between Macedonia and Greece. We believe that the best place for the continuation of the negotiations is the United Nations. This way we have a process which can eventually result in the continuation of the negotiations. Under the pressure of embargo, little can be done."

Drnovsek Signs 'Partnership'; Autonomy Stressed

AU3003151194 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 30 Mar 94

[Report by Edo Zitnik from Brussels]

[Excerpts] Slovenia today signed the Partnership for Peace, the 14th East European country to do so. At the ceremony held on this occasion, which, in addition to NATO Secretary General Woerner, was also attended by the ambassadors of all 16 NATO member-states, Prime Minister Dr. Drnovsek stressed that the partnership is extremely important for Slovenia. [passage omitted]

After the signing of the document, Prime Minister Dr. Drnovsek had a closed-door meeting with the ambassadors of NATO member-states. According to him, they all expressed satisfaction with the economic and political situation in Slovenia. The ambassadors were also interested in Slovene views about the events in Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as whether there are any possibilities for the restoration of certain forms of cooperation on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

Prime Minister Dr. Drnovsek stressed that Slovenia is in any case interested in restoration of peace in this region and is also willing to assist within the limits of its capacities and interests. However, this does not mean that Slovenia is open to any sort of institutionalized linking with the republics of the former Yugoslavia. Slovenia has already overcome the worst crisis that emerged with the loss of the Yugoslav market, which was, among other things, also facilitated by the creation of the free trade zone with the Central European states.

Logically, there was also discussion about the arms embargo today, which is still in force for all the republics of the former Yugoslavia, therefore, for Slovenia, too. Because the Partnership for Peace, in addition to military cooperation, also envisages the adaptation of Slovene armaments to the NATO standards, the arms embargo is becoming nonsensical with Slovenia's membership in the plan.

As it was the UN that passed the arms embargo, the NATO officials today avoided giving a direct answer to this question.

Peterle Requests Lifting of Arms Embargo

AU3003151294 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 30 Mar 94

[Text] Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle has sent a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali and foreign ministers of the UN Security Concil member-states, asking that the UN Security Council lift the arms embargo.

The minister pointed out that the situation in Slovenia is perfectly peaceful, that Slovenia is a sovereign and independent country and a UN member, which consistently meets all international obligations. Our country demonstrates a high level of political stability and observation of human rights. It is a member of the Council of Europe, has signed the Partnership for Peace plan, and is just about to commence negotiations on associate membership in the European Union, Minister Peterle among other things emphasized in his letter.

Kucan Returns From U.S. Visit, Defends Trip

AU3003152594 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 30 Mar 94

[Excerpts] President Milan Kucan returned at noon from an unofficial visit to the United States, where he met with U.S. Vice President Al Gore. Here is a report by Vojko Plevelj:

[Begin recording] [Plevelj] [Passage omitted] In Washington Kucan's discussions with U.S. Vice President Al Gore were mainly about bilateral contacts. They both favored the most rapid harmonization possible of the legal bases for mutual economic cooperation. Vice President Gore also paid tribute to Slovenia for all the achievements in the period of independence and expressed a readiness to assist in the development of small businesses. He congratulated Slovenia on today's signing of the Partnership for Peace plan.

Continuing his statement, President Kucan first rejected the criticism that he had deliberately travelled abroad at the time of crucial events at home by saying that he had received the invitation for this visit last August. He explained his outlook on these events as follows:

[Kucan] I do not believe that in a democratic parliamentary democracy the replacement of a minister at the proposal of the prime minister is something that should oblige me to postpone or interrupt a trip abroad.

I have spoken on several occasions about the events that led to this replacement, especially about what I believe are unacceptable methods of political work that divide rather than unite Slovenes. If the State Chamber so decides, then I believe that it is my duty to explain my views in the State Chamber, also.

I consider the prime minister's proposal legitimate, very sober, and well-grounded. I respect the decision of the State Chamber as I would have respected it had it been different. [end recording]

Federal

Sanctions Discussed With Russian Delegation

LD3003211594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2103 GMT 30 Mar 94

[Text] Belgrade, March 30 (TANJUG)—President of the Lower Chamber of Yugoslav Parliament Radoman Bozovic has said that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia urges an unconditional end to all armed conflicts in the former Yugoslav republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and a lasting solution founded on principles which will be equal for all warring sides.

Speaking to a delegation of the lower chamber of Russian Parliament, headed by Sergey Baburin, Bozovic said that Yugoslavia was an example how the strength of the world's powers was demonstrated through international sanctions as an unprecedented form of violence against innocent civilians.

An entire nation, Bozovic said, is punished because the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia urges the respect of the right to self-determination for all peoples in the conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

The Russian parliamentarians pointed out the united stand of all parliamentary political parties of the lower chamber on the Yugoslav crisis and the necessity to lift the international sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. They said they were certain that Russian parliament would soon pass a law on their lifting and that the latest initiatives by the Russian Government would step up this process in the international community.

The MPs assessed that the world community had violated the principles of international law by recognizing the disintegrations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and had thus triggered a serious crisis in international relations. Along these lines, they underscored the necessity for establishing a new system of collective security, having in mind the national interests of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Russia.

The Russian parliamentarians were also received by Serbian Vice Premier Slobodan Radulovic. During these talks, the two sides set out the complementarity of the economies of Russia and Serbia and the mutual interest for cooperation to continue.

Vice President of the Socialist Party of Serbia Goran Percevic underscored the important effect Russia had had on securing a more balanced approach to the resolving of the Yugoslav crisis and said he was certain that Russia would continue to act in this direction.

Montenegro

Four New Cabinet Ministers Elected

LD3003224494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2204 GMT 30 Mar 94

[Text] Cetinje, 30 Mar (TANJUG)—At a session in Cetinje the Assembly of Montenegro this evening elected four new ministers in the cabinet of Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic. The new minister of labor and social security is Branimir Bojanic, hitherto director of the Montenegrin Radio and TV. Ana Misurovic is the new environment protection minister, while the new minister of transport and maritime affairs is Vojislav Micunovic, hitherto assistant federal minister of transport and communications. Radovan Bakic, a university professor from Niksic, is the new minister of planning.

The four ministerial posts were vacated after the departure of the opposition representatives or when the outgoing ministers took up new posts.

Kosovo

Rugova Urges Dialogue With Belgrade

AU3103084594 Belgrade NEDELJNA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26-27 Mar 94 p 2

[Report by M. Antic: "Belgrade's Lips Remain Sealed"]

[Text] Pristina—"As president of Kosovo, I gave my word to the citizens of Kosovo and I am promising that, according to the results of the 1991 referendum, I will nurture the will of the Kosovo citizens, expressed at that referendum." This will, let us recall, was: "An independent and sovereign state of Kosovo." This was stated, among other things, by Ibrahim Rugova in the latest issue of ZERI, in response to the question on when he expected the process of solving issues in Kosovo to start, that is, when he expected a dialogue between Belgrade and Pristina to start.

Rugova said that he expected the issue of Kosovo to be dealt with by the international community immediately after the conclusion of the Muslim-Croat agreement in Bosnia. For the first time, he said that, expecting a reaction from the Serbs, he has proposed that the United States mediate in these talks, and that, as he said, the presence of the European Union, even Russia, cannot be ruled out. He said that he had opted for the Americans because their policies are pragmatic, whereas Europe is satisfied with a status-quo situation.

Following Rugova's statement, almost all papers in Albanian language were preoccupied with the "start" of the Serbian-Albanian dialogue on solving the status of Kosovo. Analysts, commentators, and Albanian politicians are very frustrated, however, because "Belgrade's lips remain sealed."